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MEMOIRS

OF A

HUNGARIAN LADY.

BY

THERESA PULSZKY.

WITH

A HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION,

BY

FRANCIS PULSZKY.

PHILADELPHIA:
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TO THE MOST NOBLE

THE MARCHIONESS OF LANSDOWNE.

When I first had the happiness of meeting you in the year 1841, my girlish enthusiasm for England attracted your attention. You encouraged me to tell you all that filled my heart and occupied my mind, and kindly listened to the attempted development of my young ideas. The sanguinary events of the last year have driven me and my family from our country; but "the good land that is beyond the sea," the mighty Queen of Ocean, has granted us a hospitable asylum, to which your generous kindness welcomed me.

You have again encouraged me to repeat my tale, no longer of the bright pictures then radiantly before my mind; but of the solemn tragedy, which has horrified Eastern Europe.

Though I never mixed in politics, I have considered it my duty to give a simple account of what I have seen and heard. Perhaps this unadorned narrative may help to

rectify some erroneous notions spread abroad respecting Hungary.

I, of course, cannot assume to give in the following pages any new or striking view of the events which have passed before the eyes of Europe; but your Ladyship will certainly recognize the accents of truth, even when awkwardly expressed in a language more familiar to my admiration than to my pen.

In the faith of this conviction, I adventurously present these volumes to your gracious notice, and beg with the most warm affection and sincere gratitude, to be allowed to subscribe myself,

Your Ladyship's

Devoted

THERESA PULSZKY.

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HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION.

First Period.

HISTORY OF HUNGARY UNDER THE HOUSE OF ARPAD.

Of all the nations who, leaving the heaths of Asia, migrated to Europe, and who, on the ruins of the old world, constructed new states on new foundations, prospering in the breath of European air and making its civilization their own, the Hungarians are the last. The most ancient history of the Hungarian people is buried in darkness, and but one thing is certain, namely, that it belongs to the same family of nomade tribe, which sent forth the Huns, Avares, Kumans, the Uzi, and Polowzi. The original country of these tribes is old Turan, that immense tract of land extending from the lake of Aral, from the Oxus and Jaxartes to the frontier of China and the desert of Gobi. This tract of land is still the home of several vagrant tribes in the states of Khiva, Bokhara, Kashgar, Kokan, and Yarkend.

The remark has often been made, that in the history of mankind, the nomade nations, of all others, are most prone, when once thoroughly impregnated with some grand idea to exchange their clansmanship for a centralized monarchical or theocratical form of government, and to establish themselves as conquerors; but that in the course of this transition, they almost always lose every vestige of liberty. Their independent life as herdsmen, their half solitude, grouped as they are in families, under the indulgent authority of the heads of their clans, and the paternal power of government of the latter, is the fruitful source of absolute power, whenever a foreign invasion compels them to unite, or their roving disposition induces them to go in quest of other homes. But as their enthusiasm cools down, which made them formidable to their neighbours, the unbridled power which sways them, fashions them into an agricultural people who form a kind of national aristocracy among the original

inhabitants of the conquered country, whom they keep in a state of subjection, more or less oppressive, as the case may be.

Such is the history of the Jews in Palestine, of the Arabs in Northern Africa, in Babylonia and Persia, of the Turanian tribes in India, of the Turks in the Byzantine empire, and of the Mongols in China. Some nomade nations perished in the crisis of the transition from conquest to agriculture; domestic dissensions, or the sword of a league of foreign foes, dissolved and again sent them adrift as migratory hordes, whose fates are not historical, and who at least are lost in the course of years, like those terrific meteors, which illumine the horizon in one moment and vanish in the next. The bonds once broken which united the various tribes, they cease to be a nation; they return to their former state of families and clans, and amalgamate with the neighbouring nations; or with the Aborigines who for a time were under their dominion. The last named process occurs especially in cases in which the dissolution does not follow on the heels of the conquest, as in the case of the Vandals in Africa, of the Goths in Spain, of the Lombards in Italy, whom their defeat deprived of their national individuality, and who were absorbed by the original elements of the country. On the other hand, the Huns and the Avars in Eastern Europe, the Turkomans in Kharesm, the Mongols of the Golden Horde in Asia and Russia (Kiptshak), were completely and hopelessly dissolved.

Among these rudiments of nations, which were taking shape from the commencement of the decline of the Roman Empire down to the fifteenth century, the Hungarians play a conspicuous and interesting part, from the fact that they alone, of all migratory tribes, succeeded in weathering the rocks which threatened those most, who drifted most headlong in a current of conquest. They had sufficient strength to resist the enemies, whom they stirred up by the conquest of their new country, and by those frequent predatory expeditions which are of common occurrence in the first historical epoch of conquering nations, without finding themselves compelled to sacrifice their domestic liberty to the arbitrary sway of one man.

The history of Hungary, from the ninth to the twelfth century, is consequently full of interest for the political philosopher. In the first years of that period, we see the Hungarian people worried by foreign enemies, and hurried on by those migratory instincts which are peculiar to nomade populations, leave their homes in Central Asia, and proceed to the Caspian, and from thence to the Black Sea; from thence they direct their steps to the Danube; for a legend is rife among them of a land of promise, belonging to the inheritance of Attila, Prince of the Huns and kinsman to their tribe. Obedient to the advice of the Chazars their neighbours, we behold the chiefs of the clans assemble for the election of a prince; but jealous of his

influence, they limit the extent of his power. They make a State, and that State stands alone in history; for it originated in a "social contract," the provisions of which were not only enacted but also observed. Thus united into a nation, the Hungarian tribes proceed, towards the end of the ninth century, to conquer their present country. The conquest is an easy one. Fortune favours them: they become overbearing, and begin to devastate the neighbouring countries. They make inroads upon Southern Germany, Upper Italy, and the Northern provinces of the Byzantine Empire. Some detached parties visit even the South of France, and advance to the walls of Constantinople, until the hero, Botond—thus runs the Hungarian legend—breaks the gates of that city with his club.

The people of Western Europe prayed at that time in this litany: "Oh, Lord! preserve us from the Hungarians!" and dreadful rumours were current of the Hungarian barbarians, who, it was said, delighted in eating the hearts of their enemies. Neither the Byzantine nor the German Emperors could resist their inroads; all they could do was to conciliate them with gifts. The two Emperors did, indeed, all they could to break the power of their new and formidable enemies; and the manner in which they severally attempted that object, is characteristic of the distinguishing features of the East and West of Europe. Henry of Germany (Henricus Auceps) bribed the Hungarians into an armistice of nine years, and during this time he built fortified cities and strongholds, and recruited his armies, so that when the Hungarian hordes advanced, they suffered several grievous defeats. The unwarlike Prince of Byzantium, on the other hand, purchases peace under the same conditions as Henricus Auceps; and, as a pledge of the good faith of the Hungarians, he takes several of their chiefs as hostages, and conducts them to Constantinople. Here they are converted to the Christian religion, and when they finally return to their country, the Byzantine Emperor sees that they are accompanied by the Bishop Hierotheos, for he is well aware that the Christian religion will change the barbarous manners of the Hungarians.

Christianity thus transplanted into Hungary, had at first but an indifferent success. It was only after two generations, that the real conversion of the Hungarian people took place. They adopted the forms, not of the petrified Grecian Church, but of the Romans. Still the reminiscences of the first Byzantine attempt at their conversion remained in the Hungarian language. To this day, the Grecian doctrine is called the old creed (*ó hit*), and the Greek Christians are proud of the *old faith*.[1]

[1] The Russians, too, call themselves "Starowerzi," i. e. old believers, for they protest that the form of their creed is the original form of Christianity,

While in this manner the predatory excursions become less frequent and formidable during the tenth century, we see the princes of Hungary intent upon strengthening their small modicum of central power, and defending it against the encroachment of the chiefs of the clans. They invited foreign colonists and cavaliers to settle in the country, and granted them the rights and immunities enjoyed by the native chiefs. The people meanwhile begin to settle, and to build villages and cities: indeed, the vast numbers of prisoners from all parts of Europe, brought from their predatory excursions, the aggregate number of whom exceeded that of their conquerors, familiarized the latter, by degrees, with the manners and customs of the West and the morals of the Christian population of Europe. Prince Geiza, a grandson of Arpád, the conqueror of Hungary, was favourably inclined to the Christian creed. His wife, Sarolta, a daughter of Gyula (who became a convert to Christianity at Constantinople), was a follower of the new creed. She converts her husband, founds monasteries, and invites Christian priests to settle in Hungary. But in spite of all this, Geiza still continues to sacrifice to and adore the ancient divinities of his nation. The sun and the elements, and the reproaches of his wife, are met alike with the quiet assertion: "I can afford to serve the old gods and the new ones too!"

Geiza's son, Stephen, justly denominated "the Saint," is the greatest man of his time. He lived and acted for a twofold purpose. He endeavoured to introduce Christianity into his kingdom, and to establish the royal power on a firm basis, without curtailing the liberties of the people: for with him, Christianity was the twin sister of freedom. He cannot possibly effect either purpose unless his reforming plans are protected by the sacred power of religion. In furtherance of his object, he invited the chiefs of his people to his Court; for three years he was a zealous preacher and a living example of the truth of the gospel. He was the Apostle of his people. It is true that when words were of no avail, he seized the sword and convinced his refractory subjects by force of arms. But, to the honour of the Hungarians, we find, that the example and the doctrines of their prince sufficed, in almost every instance, to open their minds to Christianity. Having thus accomplished one of the great objects of his life, he endeavoured firmly to establish his religion on the ground which he had obtained for it; for he was aware that paganism would not surrender without a struggle, and he was alarmed lest the rapid conversion of his people might, by a natural reaction, cause them to return to the creed of their fathers. He

and that the Roman Catholic and the Reformed Churches are cursed innovations.

knew the national character of the Hungarians, and he knew them to be strangers to theological speculations and incapable of the errors of fanaticism. Stephen resolved, consequently, to establish and fortify his position, by the authority of the Pope, the fountain of all spiritual power. He sent Archbishop Astricus to Rome, to inform the Pope Sylvester (Gerbert) of the voluntary conversion of the Hungarian people, and of their homage to the Pope as their spiritual Prince. In return for this important service, Stephen solicited Sylvester's blessing on the crown, and his sanction of the ecclesiastical arrangement in the country, and the confirmation of the bishops whom Stephen had appointed. The Pope was agreeably surprised by this good news. He sent Stephen a crown of gold and the Cross of the Patriarch, as the symbols of royal power and of the privilege of an ecclesiastical jurisdiction (potestas circa sacra). Besides this, he sent him the pallium for two archbishops; for, faithful to the system of papacy, Sylvester was unwilling to let any one country remain under a single ecclesiastical chief. To paralyze the power of a primate and to frustrate every attempt to found a national Church in secession from Rome, *two* archiepiscopal sees were instituted in every country. The circumstance that Sylvester had sent the crown to Stephen, furnished the Popes at a later period with a pretence for claiming the right to dispose of the Hungarian Crown; while, on the other hand, the Patriarch's Cross and the title of "Apostolic King," gave the Hungarian princes a pretence to increase the number of bishoprics, to divide the ecclesiastical property between them, and to control the revenues and administration of Church lands, all of which they enforced and maintained permanently. Indeed, these rights were exercised up to and in the present century.

Stephen was solemnly crowned in the year 1000. He convoked several Diets and revised the Constitution, which had never been altered since the days of Arpád. The influence of the Hungarian chiefs was neutralized by the bishops and foreign courtiers; tithes were introduced; the rights of the nobility fixed, and the foundation laid for a system of defence and taxation. These innovations were not carried without serious opposition and even resistance. One of the native chiefs, Kupa, the Prince of Somogy, placed himself at the head of men who were dissatisfied with the new imposition of tithes and the curtailment of the rights of the native chiefs, who had hitherto considered their king in the light of '*primus inter pares.*' They made an impetuous and armed demand for the restoration of their ancestral creed. They protested against the king's innovations, which tended to undermine the principles of their political and social institutions. Upon this, Stephen advanced at the head of an army, composed of the foreign cavaliers and the Christians among the Hungarians. The insurgents were defeated.

A few years later, King Stephen suppressed with equal energy and good fortune a Pagan insurrection which broke out in Transylvania. Thus he continued as the apostle and champion of constitutional liberty, to administer justice and to civilize his country. At once king and priest, like Melchisedek, he was the 'beau ideal' of a mediæval sovereign.

King Stephen's private life was less fortunate than his public career. His only son died at an early age (1031) and his death overwhelmed King Stephen with unceasing cares about the choice of a successor. His nearest kindred were by no means now after his own heart. Young Vazul, the king's cousin, was a good-natured rake, and Andreas and Bela (the sons of his second cousin, Ladislas) were suspected of being favourable to paganism. Peter, the son of Stephen's sister, Gisela (by Otto Urseoli, the Doge of Venice), was well versed in the sciences of the west, but he had not escaped the influence of western vices, and he despised the Hungarians. For a long time Stephen was in doubt where it would be expedient to bestow his crown. At length he decided in favour of Vazul, for Vazul was, after all, his nearest relative, and heir apparent of the Hungarian throne! He was at that time at Nyitra, whither the king had banished him, as a punishment for some juvenile vagaries. Before Stephen's order for his release and triumphant return, could be conveyed to Nyitra, Gisela, Peter's mother, despatched some bravoes who put out his eyes and poured molten lead into his ears, so as to make him unfit for all purposes of government. Vazul's misfortune, and Gisela's crime, excited the pity and disgust of the people in an extraordinary degree. A conspiracy was formed against the king. The conspirators pretended that Stephen was weak and broken by disease; that he wanted energy to prevent crimes, and that he lacked the moral courage which ought to have impelled him to visit his sister's crime on her guilty head. One of the king's guard was consequently bribed to murder him. When the assassin approached the bed on which the king slept, his heart failed him and his sword fell from his hand. Stephen awoke, and turning to the dismayed assassin, he asked him: "Why would you kill me?" The man knelt down, and wept; confessed his crime, and implored the king's pardon. Stephen, who had not avenged the mutilation of Vazul, forbore to inquire for and prosecute the conspirators; but his nephews, Andreas and Bela, nevertheless, thought proper to consult their safety by flying from the country, and no one of the king's family was left on Hungarian ground, except Peter (whose predilection for the German nation, caused him to be nick-named the German), and Samuel, husband to the king's second sister; Samuel was a ruder man, and more of a Pagan than of a Christian. Stephen

could not therefore think of raising him to the throne. He resigned his crown to Peter, and died (A. D. 1036) with the firm conviction of the stability of his work, because it was holy; his human reason, indeed, had sufficient cause to doubt the continuance of institutions, which were still in their infancy, and which he left in weak and reluctant hands. But St. Stephen's faith—(he is not only canonized by the Church, but to the present day every Hungarian considers and reveres him as the founder of the State)—St. Stephen's faith, we say, was borne out by future facts. His institutions conquered not only the difficulties which the dying king's boding mind foresaw, but they stood firm and unshaken in storms which were fatal to other nations and countries. We are therefore justified by the experience of centuries, in our hopes that the constitution of St. Stephen will outlive the botch-work of the German theorists, who in 1848 attempted to overthrow the institutions of the great king, by means of a paper charter, and who fretted themselves into madness, because the Hungarians preferred the protecting shade of the oak, which had weathered so many storms, to the sickly graces of a faded March violet.

Peter, the successor of Stephen the Saint, surrounded himself with foreigners. He was not bred among the people which he was called upon to govern; he longed for the splendour and gaieties of the West, and he treated the Hungarians with scorn and contempt. At length the people rose against him. They rallied around the brother-in-law of the deceased king and expelled Peter (A. D. 1041). Samuel was wholly different from Peter. His faults were quite as great, but they ran in another direction. He hated the German colonists; he detested the foreign bishops, but he hated and detested the Hungarian chiefs quite as much. He was the prince and the flatterer of the lower classes. He was a courtier to their passions. Peter, meanwhile, had made his escape to the court of the Emperor Henry III., a potentate who was eager to extend his power, and who greedily seized upon the opportunity of subjugating Hungary and reducing her to a province of his empire. He promised to succour King Peter, who in return engaged to take the country of Hungary as a fief from the emperor; to do homage to that potentate, and to render to him certain domains on the other bank of the Danube. Shortly afterwards Peter made his appearance in Hungary, at the head of a numerous army of German auxiliaries. Samuel, who was not backed by the Hungarian chiefs, was defeated in the very first encounter. He was captured and assassinated (1043). Peter celebrated his restoration to the throne with great pomp; but when the Hungarians learnt that he had not scrupled to sacrifice the honours of their nation to the possession of the crown, they sent ambassadors to Red Russia, where Andreas lived in exile,

inviting him to return and to occupy the throne. Andreas was weak and irresolute: he would not accept the invitation, until his brother Bela (who had meanwhile gained a princess and a dukedom of Pomerania by a duel with a Pagan knight) assured him that he was prepared to join the expedition. Shortly afterwards the two princes appeared with a few followers on the borders of Hungary. As the news of their approach spread, the people rose against Peter. But this revolution, too, overshot its mark; not Peter's favourites only were expelled and murdered, but the same fate was awarded to the bishops and the tithe proctors. The insurgents burnt the churches and broke the church-bells, and the people imitating the example of their leaders, Vatha, Bua, and Bukna, returned to paganism. Andreas and Bela forbore to interfere with them, because they were of opinion that the whole and undivided power of the Hungarian nation was requisite to resist the tempest which was drawing near. There could be no doubt but that the German Emperor intended either to rescue or to avenge his *protégé*. He came too late to the rescue, for Peter, defeated and blinded, died 1046; but the emperor's revenge was the more terrible, since he threatened his Hungarian courtiers, not only in the quality of an offended lord paramount, but also as the restorer of Christianity. But the condition of his own empire prevented him up to 1050, from following his words up by deeds. Andreas meanwhile endeavoured to heal the wounds which his party had inflicted on the Christian church. He was crowned in the year 1047. He confirmed the statutes against paganism; he appointed bishops and restored order in the interior of the kingdom, while Bela provided for the defence of the country. Twice, in two succeeding years, did the Emperor Henry III. attempt to invade Hungary. On each event the Hungarians retreated before the enemy, and drew them into the hearts of their forests and plains. They cut off their supplies, sunk their ships, harassed them in unceasing skirmishes, and finally drove them over the frontier. In 1053 Henry was compelled to resign his claims upon Hungary, without battles, for that country was then, as it is now, an open grave for every invading foe; and though often pressed, and even conquered, by foreigners, it always regained its independence.

But in the present instance the Hungarian independence was scarcely guaranteed, when a civil war broke out in the country itself. At the commencement of his government, Andreas had promised the succession to the throne to his brother Bela, besides ceding to him one third of the country as a dukedom, when he found that he owed his crown to his brother's heroic devotion. But in the meanwhile a son and heir was born to Andreas, and the Emperor Henry sent to say that he betrothed his daughter to the infant. Paternal affection caused Andreas to forget the promise which he had

given his brother. In 1058 he took the boy Solomon, and had him crowned as King. Bela felt deeply hurt, but he conquered his feelings. The King's courtiers, on the other hand, filled the mind of Andreas with suspicion against the Duke, his brother, by informing the King that Bela had left the cathedral in great rage, when at the coronation of Solomon the choristers sung the verse: "Be thou Lord of thy brethren." They insinuated, moreover, that the Duke was seducing the affections and engaging the support of a powerful party in the country. The King resolved to try his brother's loyalty, and invited him to come to the Castle of Várkony. When Bela arrived he found Andreas seated on a throne. At his feet lay the crown and the sword, the symbols of regal and ducal dignity. He received Bela with great kindness, and told him that the country was not likely to recover from its present unsettled state, unless some definite arrangement were made regarding the question of the succession. He admitted that his promise compelled him to leave his crown to Bela, but he reminded him of the importance of the German Emperor's friendship, which alone could avail to guarantee peace and independence to the country, and which was bound up with the advent to the throne of Solomon, the Emperor's future son-in-law. In conclusion, he declared that the fate of Hungary lay in Bela's hands, to whom he offered the choice between the crown and sword, viz.: between a kingdom and a dukedom, adding that his brother's choice ought to be definitive and binding for the future. While the King was speaking, the Count Nicolas went past Bela and whispered to him: "Don't take the crown if you value your life!" He smiled, and stretching forth his hands he seized the sword. For he remarked the lowering looks of Vid and Erney, the King's knights, who stood by the throne, armed, and with their swords bared. The Duke was aware that the crown is always a prize to him who holds the sword. Andreas, who had commanded his followers to rush forward and assassinate his brother, if the latter should happen to choose the crown, left his throne, and embracing Bela he praised him for this voluntary and generous surrender of his just claims. But Bela turned and left the room and the castle.

He knew that his life was in danger. He and his family fled to Poland. His flight terrified Andreas, who foresaw his brother's return at the head of Polish auxiliaries. He sent his Queen and his child to the Court of the German Emperor, and entreated his assistance. A few troops of German mercenaries made their appearance in pursuance of his request; but when (A. D. 1060) Bela invaded Hungary, the Hungarians joined his standard. Andreas and his auxiliaries were driven across the Theiss, and Andreas himself was killed in his flight. Bela was proclaimed King on the field of battle.

The new warrior-king seized the reins of Government with a strong hand. He published a general amnesty, he reformed old abuses, limited the expenditure, and gained all hearts by strict and impartial justice. A friend of liberty, beyond the comprehension of the eleventh century, one of his first acts was the convocation of a general Diet at Stuhlweissenburg, for which he arranged the elections on the broadest probable basis, for each place in the country (Quælibet Villa) was entitled to send two deputies. But his innovations did not answer his expectations. The people remembered that in the war against Peter, the King had not opposed Paganism, and they saw that he extended the institutions of St. Stephen. They sent their deputies to Weissenburg. To that city came also John, the son of Vatha, and with him a 'posse comitatus' of soothsayers and witches. John erected hustings, and inflamed the public mind by his speeches. The assembled crowd were unanimous in their demand for the restoration of Paganism. They surrounded the King's palace, threatening and riotous. The bishops and the King's councillors trembled, but Bela, undismayed, promised the riotous populace that he would give them a decisive answer within three days. In the course of that time, he ordered the garrisons of his castles to march upon Weissenburg, and on the third day, the rioters found themselves surrounded by the King's troops. Still they insisted in their demand. Bela's soldiers attacked and dispersed them. Their leaders were captured, and John, his soothsayers and witches, were executed. Thus ended the third and last insurrection in favour of Paganism. Bela's victory confirmed Christianity for all future times, though after many years there were still some heathens found, who sacrificed to the Gods of Nature on the forest-covered peaks of the mountains, or in the caverns of the rocks.

Bela displayed a restless activity in his attempts to improve the state of the country, and to introduce the essentials of a higher civilization. He urged the Hungarians to resign the vagrant tent, and to fix themselves in permanent homes. He appointed fairs in the various market-towns, and insisted on their being held on Saturdays, instead of on Sundays; he coined a certain quantity of money, and thus created a circulating medium, in the place of the old Hungarian barter-trade. Besides these things, Bela regulated the measures and weights, and fixed the average prices of victuals, and of other objects of daily trade and intercourse. The last-named measures are not, indeed, agreeable to modern principles of political economy, but the financial philosophers in this country will doubtless give a free pardon to the shade of King Bela, if they consider that to this day the whole of the East, and indeed the people of Vienna, are not one jot wiser in their generation, than the prince of a semi-barbarous

people in the middle of the 11th century was in his. Indeed, the Austrian functionaries flatter themselves with a belief, that nothing but their decrees about the respective prices of bread and meat, can protect the mass of the people against being imposed upon.

The wounds which former governments had inflicted on the country, were healed under the auspices of Bela's short-lived dominion. "The people were satisfied," writes an old historian, "for the poor became rich, and the rich prospered in safety and peace." But Bela came to a sudden death in 1063. Some writers state that he lost his life by a fall with his horse, and others assert that his regal seat broke down under him, and crushed him in the fall. Bela's sons, Geiza, Ladislas, and Lampert, were heirs to their father's bravery, while they surpassed him in zeal for the Christian religion. They respected the rights which Solomon (Andreas' son) had obtained by his coronation. The majority of the chiefs would have preferred Geiza to young Solomon, who lived in Germany, and who had become a kinsman of the German Emperor. But Geiza wished to spare the country the distress of a foreign invasion, and he was aware that the news of the death of his heroic father would attract Solomon, and an army of German auxiliaries to support his title to the crown. To prevent this contingency, the sons of Bela sent ambassadors to their cousin, offering to surrender the crown if he would grant them one-third of the kingdom, viz. the ducal domains of their late father. Solomon accepted the offer. He came to Stuhlweissenburg, accompanied by his brother-in-law, the German Emperor Henry IV. He was crowned for the second time, and received the homage of the Estates of Hungary, who, however reluctant to receive him, followed the example of the sons of Bela.

King Solomon had just completed his eleventh year. A boy of his age must necessarily be under the dominion of some person or persons, and Solomon was swayed by the councils and the influences of the Count Vid—the same who had caused the estrangement between the brothers Andreas and Bela. By his fatal influence the dukedom was taken away from the sons of Bela. They escaped into Poland. Solomon opened negotiations with Boleslas, King of the Poles, whom, by his promises, he tried to induce to surrender the fugitives. But Boleslas was not to be tempted into an action which he considered as dishonourable, and even as infamous. The three princes assembled an army, and invaded Hungary. King Solomon retreated to the German frontier, and there awaited their attack in a fortified camp, at Wieselburg. But, before blood was shed on either side, the bishops interfered, and succeeded in reconciling the hostile parties. The three princes made a formal resignation of the crown, and were reinstated in their paternal domains,

and for the purpose of confirming this transaction solemnly and publicly, Solomon was crowned for the third time. The ceremony was performed by the hands of Geiza, who, in placing the crown on his cousin's head, recognized his royal sovereignty.

For ten years did the dukes and the king live in perfect harmony. They united in defending Hungary against all foreign enemies; in the north-west against the Sclavonian Moravians, and in the south-east against the Kumans. In the course of these wars, Ladislas came to be the favourite of the people, and the hero of numberless legends; but this popularity, and the fame of his deeds, caused the discord which broke out among the princes. Bissene hordes had been in the habit of ravaging the southern provinces of Hungary: they were protected by Niketas, the Grecian commander of Belgrade. At length the Hungarians became impatient of these frequent violations of their territory. In the year 1022 they drove the freebooters across the Save, and besieged Belgrade for the purpose of punishing the Grecian garrison of that place. For a long time the siege was fruitless; but at last it happened that a captive Hungarian girl set fire to the town. While the conflagration was at its height, the besiegers stormed the walls of Belgrade. Niketas retreated to the citadel, which he surrendered when he saw that there was no hope of a rescue. He made the condition, that he and his army should be allowed to return to their country; and when he had received a promise that this condition would be complied with, he surrendered, not to the King, but to the Duke Geiza. King Solomon felt offended with the preference shown to the Duke, and his courtiers were eager to foster the sparks of dissension between the cousins. When the booty was divided, King Solomon seized the opportunity to have his revenge. Instead of awarding to the dukes one-half, he gave them one-fourth of the booty, pretending that Niketas and the garrison of Belgrade ought to be considered as an equivalent for the other quarter. The Duke submitted to this imposition. But when Michael Dukas, the Emperor of Byzantium, sent a golden crown to Geiza, in token of his gratitude for the humane treatment which Niketas had received at his hands, Solomon was induced to listen to the inuendos of the old enemy of Bela's house. Count Vid told the King that the Dukes were pretenders to the crown, and from that moment Solomon endeavoured to overpower and capture his cousins. The intrigue was betrayed to the Dukes. Upon this the two young princes, Ladislas and Lampert, hastened to Poland and Red Russia to call in auxiliaries, while Solomon appealed to Germany for help. In this instance, Solomon again stooped to acknowledge himself the vassal of the German Emperor. But his endeavours were as fruitless as those of the Dukes, and the contending parties understood at length that their safest plan was

to accept the mediation of the Hungarian chiefs. A compromise was effected in 1024. But the part which Solomon acted was by no means sincere, for immediately after the reconciliation, he made an attempt to assassinate Geiza when hunting. The attempt failed, and Geiza became convinced that there would be no peace between him and King Solomon. Acting upon this conviction, he again sent his brother out of the country, to ask for help against the King of Hungary. Before they could return to his assistance, King Solomon struck a sudden blow against Geiza, and defeated his small army on the banks of the Theiss. But Duke Ladislas was approaching at the head of Moravian troops. The courtiers of Upper Hungary joined him. On the Danube he effected a junction with the forces of his brother Geiza. He advanced and defeated Solomon, in a battle in which the Count Vid, the author of the war, was found among the slain. Solomon made his escape to Germany, and although Geiza protested against the offer of the crown, he was solemnly crowned amidst the cheers and exultation of the whole nation. The new king was reluctant to engage in a war with Germany. He opened negotiations with Solomon; for he was resolved to surrender the crown to the exiled king, if the quiet possession of the dukedom were but guaranteed to himself and his brethren. But the chiefs of the kingdom and the people at large hated Solomon on account of his predilection for the Germans, and his attempts to degrade the kingdom of Hungary into a German fief. The bishops alone were in his favour, and took every opportunity to confirm Geiza in his resolution, when his sudden death (A. D. 1072) put a stop to the negotiations. His brother and successor Ladislas (who ought to be called "the Great," had not the Church called him "the Saint") was, as we learn from the chronicles of the time, the handsomest and tallest man in all Hungary. He had proved the strength of his heroic arm in the war against the Kumans, Bissens, and against the King Solomon. The people considered him as the true successor of St. Stephen, and offered him the crown by acclamation. But Ladislas was as little inclined as his brother Geiza had been to bear the reproach of having usurped the rights of another. He would not be satisfied, until by the mediation of the pope and the bishops he prevailed upon Solomon to resign his rights to the crown in consideration of a liberal annuity. Solomon entered into and ratified the agreement four years after Ladislas's advent to power; and it was then only that the latter accepted the crown. No foreign war threatened his frontiers. He was therefore left at liberty to devote all his energies to the internal policy of his kingdom. He continued the work which St. Stephen had begun. That sainted King had arranged the constitution and the public law: Ladislas introduced a code of civil and criminal laws. Stephen had

placed the constitution of the country on a Christian foundation; Ladislas became the legislator of the Hungarians, who had meanwhile settled down into an agricultural people. St. Stephen had protected liberty on its transition from paganism to Christianity: Ladislas directed and arranged the affairs of civil life, during the transition from the life of herdsmen to agricultural occupations. These important improvements were sanctioned in the session of the Diet of 1082. After a lapse of twelve years Ladislas and his Diet arranged the affairs of the Church, and this too under the reign of Gregory VII.; for Ladislas, though a sincere and pious man, insisted on the right of the King and people of Hungary, to be in ecclesiastical affairs independent of the Pope, though in harmony with the precepts of the Church. He governed Hungary for 18 years; his subjects loved him; his neighbours respected him, and his enemies feared him. When Solomon, in spite of the terms of his resignation, endeavoured to possess himself of the crown, Ladislas ordered him to be seized, and confined in the tower of Visegrad; but when King Stephen and his son Emrich were canonized by the Pope, Ladislas liberated the pretender; for he thought it hard that one of Stephen's descendants should languish in captivity on such a day. The Kumans, a pagan people of the Hungarian stock, who lived in Moldavia and Wallachia, and who distressed his country by frequent inroads, were repeatedly defeated by Ladislas, who pursued them over the frontiers of their own country, when he fought a duel with and killed Akosh, the king of the Kumans, a man of gigantic height. Ladislas joined Croatia to Hungary, and extended the confines of the country to the coast of the Adriatic, where his provinces were contiguous to those of the Venetian Republic. In the North, he compelled the three princes of Halitsh and Vladimir,[1] to recognize the supremacy of the Hungarian crown. By this act he became the founder of that legal title to which Maria Theresa appealed, when 700 years later, she, as queen of Hungary, claimed those provinces in the first partition of Poland. So generally was King Ladislas's early Christian spirit acknowledged throughout Christendom, that when the first Crusade was resolved on in the Council of Piacenza (A. D. 1095) the command of the expedition was unanimously offered to the King Ladislas, the most gallant and Christian of the European kings. A splendid embassy brought the news to Hungary. The King accepted the offer, which did him no small honour, but he died a few months afterwards. A general mourning of three years followed his death. No music was heard. There were no festivities; for the hearts of his subjects clung to the remembrance of their gallant King.

[1] Red Russia, the present Gallicia and Lodomeria.

Ladislas, the handsome Cavalier, was succeeded (A. D. 1095) by Koloman, the crooked and squinting son of Geisa,—a man, not of arms, but of science, whom the people nick-named "Book Coloman" (Könyves Kalman) while they feared him as a most powerful wizard. But Koloman's misshapen body contained a strong mind, and though less generous than his uncle, and less conscientious than his father, he was quick of resolution and firm of purpose, and well fitted to protect the independence of the country in perilous times. An insurrection of the Croats, who believed that the new king was utterly ignorant of the trade of arms, gave him an opportunity of testing his powers. He suppressed the insurrection, completed the incorporation of Croatia, and conquered the maritime cities which had formerly resisted the attacks of Ladislas. He had scarcely finished his conquest, when he was obliged to turn to the German frontier, for ever since Peter the Hermit had preached a crusade at the Council of Clermont, the whole of Western Europe was infected with holy fanaticism. Large armies of disciplined troops and countless hordes of plunderers and marauders marched through Hungary and the Byzantine empire on their way to Jerusalem. Koloman received them with great suspicion; for all the reckless adventurers of Europe were amongst them, and many of them would have undertaken the conquest of an empire as a pioneer to the expedition to the Holy Land. The first army of Crusaders of 20,000 men, and led by the brave knight, Walter Havenothing (Gauthier de Sans Avoir), were well received by the King, who escorted them to Semlin, when some of their *marodeurs*, who pillaged the country, were cut down by the peasantry. The second Crusading army, headed by Peter of Amiens, and numbering 40,000 men, advanced likewise to Semlin, without offence on either side; but when they found the armour of Walter's crusading *marodeurs* kept as trophies by the people of Semlin, they attacked, entered and sacked the unfortunate city, and as soon as they heard of the King's approach, escaped across the Danube. They were followed by two troops of 12 and 15,000 men, under Volkmar and Gottshalk, who commenced plundering as soon as they crossed the Hungarian frontier. In return, the people rose and exterminated them to the last man. A similar fate was in store for the larger armies of the Count Emico, which in some exaggerated statements, are quoted at 200,000 men. Emico's troops wished to punish the Hungarians for the destruction of the preceding armies, but the King Koloman, whom they at first oppressed by superior numbers, surprised them at night, drove them into the river Laytha and into the morasses of Weiselburg, and compelled the few that remained to consult their safety by returning to Germany. At length came the main army of the Crusaders, under the command of Geoffrey of Bouillon.

They amounted to 100,000 armed and disciplined troops. Their leader concluded a treaty with Koloman, in which a free passage was promised to the Crusaders, and in which the prices of provisions were fixed, and the supplies guaranteed. Koloman accompanied the foreign troops with his army, after having offered them a royal entertainment at Oedenburg, and the princes bade each other adieu on the Greek frontier.

But the danger of foreign violence was scarcely over, when still greater dangers rose out of Hungarian soil. Almos, the King's cousin, who was Duke over one third of the empire, intrigued to possess himself of the crown. The King, on the other hand, was impatient of another man's sovereignty in his country, and the old feud of Bela with Andreas, of Geisa with Solomon, of the sword with the crown, was on the point of convulsing the kingdom. But Koloman was energetic and bold. He defeated Almos' plans and forces. Koloman very generously granted his vanquished foe a free pardon: but when Almos rebelled for the second and indeed for the third time, Koloman surprised him in the midst of a new intrigue, made him a prisoner, and in a fit of mad cruelty, ordered the eyes of the Duke to be put out; nay, not only his, but also those of his innocent son, Bela, so as to disable both father and son from aspiring to the government. The unfortunate Princes fled to a Convent, and the monks spread a rumour of their death.

While the King attempted in his cruel manner to prevent a civil war, his jealousy and violence planted the seeds of another war; for, suspecting his wife Queen Predzlava of being unfaithful to him, he sent her back to her relations in Poland, where she died, after giving birth to Boris, the future pretender to the crown of Hungary. In spite of his fitful violence and cruelty, Koloman was not altogether unworthy of his predecessors. He completed the work of St. Stephen and St. Ladislas. Under his government, the institutions and laws of the country were improved by the Diet, and, strange to say, it is the lenient spirit pervading them, which characterizes the statutes of Koloman. The king died 1114. With him ended the first and most important period in the existence of the Hungarian cities. He is the last legislator of the time of transition from Asiatic and accession to European civilization. The laws of Hungary, from Stephen the Saint to Koloman, form an organic whole which extends in three directions, viz:

The *idea of Christianity* pervades all their statutes in *the independence of the country*, in its relations to foreign nations, and *the liberty of the people* at home, and lastly in the establishment of a strong central power. The two last named objects were attained by encroachments on the influence of the native chiefs, which caused the chaos to unite, and merge into a constitution and monarchy.

An inquiry into the development of the Hungarian Constitution in this epoch, and some extracts from the statutes of our three great legislators, will give a clear idea of the condition of the people, while it furnishes our reader with a standard of just appreciation of the three Kings: Stephen, Ladislas, and Koloman.

When the Hungarians were still wandering through the heaths of Asia, between the Irtish and Wolga; when they subjugated their neighbours, and were in their turn subjugated by them; they lived, like the Circassians of the present day, in a patriarchal clansmanship. The nation was divided into seven tribes, which were again subdivided into a number of families. A similar heptarchy may be found among their kinsmen, the Uzi, Kumanis, Bissenis, and Khazaris. The last named people, alone, had elected the most powerful of their chiefs to the dignity of Khan, and this circumstance gave them for a time a great power among their neighbours. When, therefore, the Hungarians were resolved to wander onward in quest of new homes, their seven chiefs met, and concluded that first and original contract, which up to the latest times has been considered as the foundation of the Hungarian Constitution. According to an Asiatic custom, they ripped the skin of the arm, mixed the blood with wine, and resolved:

1. That they should elect Almos, and his generation after him, to be their duke, that he should guide them and lead them in war.

2. That the common booty of the field should be fairly divided amongst them.

3. That the chiefs who, of their own free-will, had elected Almos, should not, nor should their descendants after them, be excluded from the councils of the duke.

4. That those who break their allegiance to the duke, or who foster dissensions between him and the chiefs, shall find no room on the face of the earth, and that their blood shall be shed, like the blood which runs from the arms of the contracting parties.

5. If the duke were to break the contract, that he shall be deposed, and cursed, and banished.

This *contrat social* marks the first step of the Hungarians into history, for it was this contract which made them a nation. In confirmation of it, the seven princes Almos, Elöd, Kund, Und, Tas, Huba, and Tuhutum sacrificed the blood and wine as a libation to the gods.

This contract made the duke in the first instance no more than a *primus inter pares*. He was a leader in war, but not a sovereign in times of peace, and the chiefs retained an undiminished jurisdiction among the members of their tribes. The second clause of the contract made it possible for the duke to extend his power. When, on entering Hungary, Almos resigned to his son Arpád, and Arpád

conquered the country, the territory was divided by the first Diet, held at Puszta-Szer, in the vicinity of Szegedin. The mutual relations between the Princes, the chiefs, and the people were determined, and judges appointed. Thus we find in this first period, the traces of an orderly Government, and of a free Constitution. In this time too, we find the first vestiges of municipal institutions, and of the military arrangements of the country. In its administrative relations, Hungary was divided into counties; for the purposes of war, it was divided into baronies (Schlossbezirke). Fortified castles were built in various places, and the territories surrounding them were given into the hands of a number of Hungarian colonists, who cultivated them in common, and the harvests were so divided, that one half fell to the share of the colonists, who formed likewise the garrison of the castle, while the other half was divided into three parts. One-third fell to the share of the Commander of the Castle (Comes Castrensis) who had also a judicial power over the vassals of the castle lands, and two-thirds were devoted to the victualling of the castle, and providing for the want of its garrison. The castle lands were considered to be the property of the State; they became the foundation of the military institutions of Hungary, for the garrisons of the castles formed the most efficient military power of the country. The Hungarians were, moreover, free and equal in political rights, with the exception of the chiefs, who formed a high aristocracy among them. Those of the original inhabitants of the country who made a voluntary surrender, were received as allies and friends, but those who had opposed the Hungarian invasion, were reduced to the state of serfs, and compelled to till their former possessions for the benefit of their masters.

The predatory expeditions of the Hungarians under the leadership of Zoltan and Taksony, the son and grandson of Arpád, filled the country with bondsmen from all parts of Europe. These captives were likewise employed in tilling the ground, for the Hungarians were warriors when young, and herdsmen when old, and amidst the numbers of captive bondsmen and native serfs, they formed a national aristocracy.

The introduction of the Christian religion by St. Stephen, caused a great political revolution, not only because it strengthened the power of the Princes, while it paralyzed the influence of the chiefs, (since they were rivalled in the King's councils by the newly created bishops, who in the Diet, stood forth as the first Estate,) but an important change took place in the condition and relations of the people. The Christian bondsmen were suddenly emancipated, for Stephen was of opinion, that Christianity ought to effect both the moral and the political liberation of its adherents. The obstinate pagans, on the other hand, were deprived of their liberty. The

number of those who preferred their old creed to their freedom was considerable, and Thonuzoba, the Chief of the Bissens, set them an example, which taught them to escape at once from servitude and Christianity. He proceeded to Abad on the banks of the Theiss, and dressed in full armour and sitting on his horse, he caused himself to be buried alive, as an expiatory sacrifice to the gods, "For he preferred," says the Chronicler, "death with his fathers, to eternal life with Christ."

Stephen, who knew the character of his people, surrounded himself with Chiefs and Magnates, for the purpose of increasing the splendour of the court, which the Bishops thronged with the ministers of spiritual power. As for the people, he classed them off into the high nobility (domini), Bishops and Chiefs who led their men under their own banners; and into the nobility and possessors of allod (nobiles, servientes regi), who assembled under the King's banner; and the soldiers or franklins who belonged to the castle banners (servientes castrei).

The whole united body of these formed the *Diet*, and their consent was required to promote the King's decrees to the dignity of laws. It is but natural that the Domini had for a length of time, an influence which carried everything before it. The influence of the jobbagiones castrenses has never been exactly ascertained, but it appears to have been less than the influence of the nobility, of the jobbagiones or servientes regales. But, however unequal the political rights of the Hungarians may have been, their rights of possession were equal, and the words of one of their Kings: "Neque habet quis Dominorum plus, neque servientium minus de libertate," apply exactly to the condition of the people under King Stephen. The judicial power of the Chiefs of Clans declined, and the Hungarian freeman was subject to no one, but to the King and his representative, the Palatine. To break the dangerous influence and power of the Chiefs, the members of the clans were emancipated from the duties they owed to their tribe. From clansmen they became citizens of the country.

The administration of justice was organized in an extremely simple manner. The King, accompanied by his Palatin, made frequent journeys through the country, and wherever he stopped on his progress, the Bishops and Magnates of the surrounding districts assembled under his presidency, for the purpose of hearing the complaints and deciding the quarrels which the people brought before them. In this primitive state of jurisprudence, all justice emanated directly from the King. The Comes Castrensis had, moreover, a constant jurisdiction over the colonists, who formed the garrison of his castle, (jobbagiones or servientes castri), not only in matters of military

discipline, but also in all civil and criminal cases, which came to his cognizance.

It is under King Stephen, too, that we meet with the first traces of feudalism in Hungary. Grants are not given with a full and unlimited title, they become a kind of hereditary fief, and the feoffer and his descendants are obliged to do military service. An escheat takes place in the case of the family of the holder becoming extinct, and in cases of felony; but, excepting their restrictions to an unlimited title, the feoffer has the free disposal of his property. We find, also, persons engaged in agricultural pursuits, in breeding horses, and in hunting, who hold their grant under special conditions.

Besides the three large classes of Hungarian freemen, we find in this period, a fourth class of citizens, viz., the emancipated bondsmen, and the naturalized aliens (libertini, dushenici, hospites), who were not called upon to do military service, who had no political rights, and who paid taxes to the King, but who are not subject to any one besides him. This class produced, in the course of time, the citizens of towns and the mass of the people, those that are not free-men, who are subject to their lords, who work for them, and who pay their taxes to them.

With respect to criminal legislature, we find it founded, under King Stephen, on the old Hebrew principles of retaliation—eye for eye, and tooth for tooth; we find likewise the Germanic "Wehrgeld," the price of blood (homagium). Treason, murder, and theft (if frequently repeated) are punished with death, but manslaughter is atoned for by a fine, which is paid to the relations of the sufferer. Frequently we find the punishments of various crimes falling under ecclesiastical jurisdiction: churches have the right of asylum, but this right does not protect a traitor to the King; while the King's court, and the houses of the great functionaries have likewise the right of asylum.

These laws bear the stamp of a state which has scarcely entered upon its existence. The simple relations of vagrant life, in which collisions are scarce, and by no means of a serious character, are sufficient to explain why a greater share of attention is devoted to the constitution, and less on the legislation of the country. The empire is growing into being, and the very court of the King is as vagrant as the rest of the people.

Ladislas takes a long stride in advance. His decrees, too, are founded on the establishment of Christianity as a system; his statutes are pervaded by an ecclesiastical spirit; but the arrangement of the constitution is not, with him, paramount to all other considerations. He aims at the creation of a code of laws. His object is no longer to *create* the state, but to *develope it.* The people have become

more civilized; their vagrant habits are on the decline; but the increase of fixed habitations produces an increased litigation about the "meum and tuum;" individuals are brought more frequently into contact with one another, and the feelings which this contact excites are not always kind. Collisions and complaints necessitate a fixed legislation, and a rule for the protection of persons and properties. The statutes of Ladislas tend, therefore, to confirm Christian morals among his people, and to establish a uniform and equitable standard of civil and criminal law.

King Bela had in his time, published a decree fixing the market-day on Saturdays, instead of on Sundays. This is a sign that the people ceased to lead a nomade life, for among nomade populations, trade is necessarily joined to religion. A herdsman cannot leave his flocks at any time; he meets his neighbours chiefly for the purpose of divine service, and having served his God, he transacts business with his fellows. The bartering transactions of nomadical nations, are almost always in connexion with their religious ceremonies. To this day we find trade and commerce in Arabia and Africa, bound up with the annual caravans and pilgrimages. Ladislas made a law enjoining a due observance of the Sundays and Christian festivals; the transgressors of this law were threatened with ecclesiastical punishments, and those who utterly despised this Christian ordinance were peremptorily exiled. Ladislas enforced not only the confession, but also the active morals of the Christian creed, and those who sacrifice to the Pagan divinities are denounced in the strongest language. As for the Jewish and Mohammedan merchants in the kingdom, the law tolerates the Jews, but they are bound to respect the Christian Sabbath, and to eschew the keeping of Christian servants; while the Mahometans are divided among the country people, and compelled to make confession of Christianity. We learn from the statutes of Ladislas, that the conversion of the Hungarians was completed. They have adopted Christianity, and the tendency of the statutes of Ladislas is to compel them to act up to their new creed.

In his statutes of civil law, we find thieves threatened with severe punishment. Property is turned to account and has come to be protected. Instant execution, with no respect to the person of the culprit is enjoined, when the value of the stolen goods exceeds the sum of ten denars, nor can it be pleaded in extenuation of the crime, that the thief has indemnified the person from whom he stole. In petty cases of theft, an indemnification of twelve times the value of the stolen goods was exacted from the thief, if he was a free-man; if not, he was mutilated, and lost his nose or one of his eyes. He who robs his neighbour of his landed property, forfeits his liberty and his goods. In the case of an assassination, the property of the

murderer is confiscated, and one-third is given to his natural heirs, while two-thirds fall to the share of the person whom he has killed.

The administration of justice assumes a more systematic aspect than it had in the times of Stephen. Two judges are appointed in each county, and instructed to take cognizance of and inquire into all complaints, and to report the cases to the King or Palatine, on their progress through the country. In token of their office, they have a knightly seal, which they send to the defendant when they summon him to make his appearance in court. Their summons is imperative for all the inhabitants of their district, and those that refuse to obey it, are in the first instance subjected to a fine; and in the second, judgment is passed against them, as if they had made their appearance. The clergy who resorted to the Bishops, and the Bishops and Comites, or in a word, the Domini, who could only be summoned under the Great Seal, were dispensed from obedience to the summons of the County-Judges. The judicial proceedings are public, and under the Chapter of Evidence, we find witnesses, oaths and ordeals (ordalia). Appeal from the verdicts of the judges cannot be made within a twelvemonth to the King or Palatine. The statutes of Ladislas determine the limits of the jurisdiction of the various courts, so as to enable every man to know who was his judge, and in what case; and it was expressly provided, that each information of a crime ought to be examined within three days, and that in a civil suit, judgment ought to be delivered within thirty days.

These laws bear witness of a civilized, though simple, condition of the people. Since the time of Stephen they have come to be more European, and the principles of the safety of persons and of property is generally prevailing.

The laws of Koloman show more statesmanship than those of his predecessors. The King's revenues and the military duties, and general relations of those citizens of the State who are subjects to the Duke, with regard to those who are immediate subjects of the King, and the principal subjects of his statutes. He regulates the various titles of possession, he determines the duties of the Comites Castrenses, he establishes new Courts of Appeal, and fixes the yearly terms for the courts often, viz., the days of St. Philip, James, and St. Michael. On those days the Bishops, the Magnates of the Empire, and the Comites, assembled and decided on the cases of the "lords" among themselves, and on the cases between ecclesiastics and laymen. They are compelled to take cognizance of, and decide on all complaints of improper use of official power, even in the case of the highest functionaries. An unfair decision exposes the judge to be indicted before the Episcopal Court, or before the Palatine, and if he is found guilty, he is bound to indemnify the aggrieved party.

But most extraordinary is Koloman's penal legislation, for in respect to them he is far in advance of his time He limited the ordalia, the verdict found by means of red hot iron, and boiling water, which was so frequent in the time of Ladislas. He decreed (in the eleventh century) that no information should be received against witches, *because there are no witches!*[1] Mutilation, which is a conspicuous feature in the penal code of Ladislas, is by Koloman commuted into fines and other punishments; and in the case of infanticide he decrees that the wretched mother is to be left to the penance of the Church, and to the pangs of her own conscience.

The financial measures of this King are most simple. A duty of five per cent. on imports and exports, a market tax (tributum fori), direct taxes imposed on all freemen who were not noble (denarii libertinorum), and on the hospites (udvornici regales), served for the maintenance of the court, and to defray the public expenses, while one half of the proceeds of the castle-lands remained, as before, the basis of the military establishment.

The laws on the ecclesiastical tithes, which Stephen had introduced, and on the due observance of Sundays and Saints' days, were renewed; the Ismaelites were restrained from marrying women of their own tribe, to prevent the doctrines of Mohammed from being handed down in the families of those, who had been forced to accept the Christian religion under Ladislas. The Jews were compelled to live in episcopal towns, to afford them an opportunity for their conversion. From a political point of view, Koloman, though tenacious of the rights of the Hungarian Kings, was not prone to try too great a stress on the right of "investiture." He resigned it, because he was loath to offend the Pope, at the very moment in which the whole of Western Europe, influenced and fanaticized by the Pope, was advancing through Hungary to the Holy Land; for he was aware that the Crusaders would, in the case of a quarrel between himself and the Pope, turn their arms against his country and his throne. However great our respect for King Ladislas may be, who refused to comply with the demands of the powerful Gregory VII., we cannot deny that Koloman's views were just and rational, when he preferred to resign a contested right, rather than to risk the independence of his country.

This short sketch of the history of the Hungarian law and Constitution, shows the introduction of that nation into the great Chris-

[1] We ought to remark that, in spite of Koloman's statute, proceedings against witches were of frequent occurrence from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century. The last witch was burnt at Szegedin, under the reign of Maria Theresa. This unfortunate woman was the mother of the monk Dugoniez, who is famous as a novel writer.

tian family of European nations, by means of a series of energetic Kings. We see that the Western civilization of Rome and Germany had greater influence upon them than the Oriental culture of Byzantium; but whenever Germany attempted to gain any influence by the sword, or whenever it threatened the independence of Hungary, we see the people rise, repel the invaders, and assert its own rights. Such is the character of the first period of the History of Hungary.

Among the successors of Koloman (from his son Stephen II. to Andreas II. 1114 to 1205), Hungary is chiefly under the influence of Byzantium. That Empire was then seized by a family of clever and cunning Princes, the Comneni, who covered the young states of Hungary with the net of their intrigues, gaining its princes for their policy by marriages, by wars, and by subsidies. Their end and aim was to make up in the West, for their losses in the East. The Hungarian Kings of this period are unlike their predecessors; among them we find no great legislator, no hero, and excepting Bela III. no statesman. The Kingdom declined under the influence of the intrigues, and the extravagance of its rulers, who were unequal to the task of continuing the work of Stephen, Ladislas, and Koloman. The history of this period is less interesting for the philosophical inquirer than that of the former Kings. Indeed, there is nothing striking in it, but the few romantic traits in the personal adventures of some of the Kings.

Stephen II. (son to Koloman), flattered himself that he equalled Solomon in wisdom, Samson in bravery, and David in boldness; but he was no such thing, as the old Chronicler most naïvely remarks. He got the kingdom into sundry disreputable feuds with his neighbours in Austria, Red Russia, and Byzantium, and all these feuds had no other results than that they caused great bloodshed and misery. He had no legitimate issue, and, therefore, he was resolved to recognize Boris, the son of Predzlava (Koloman's divorced Queen) as his brother and successor, when he learnt that Bela, the son of the wretched and traitorous Duke Almas, was still in life, though robbed of his eye-sight. Stephen was but too happy to have an opportunity to atone for his father's crime. He sent for Bela, and united him to Helena, the masculine and energetic daughter of the Servian Prince Uros. Soon afterwards King Stephen resolved to be a monk and died (1131), sincerely lamenting the errors of his youth and his weakness, which in earlier years had made him a victim to the charms of the Hungarian girls.[1]

Bela II. was throughout his reign influenced by his wife. Helena

[1] "The devil was sick, the devil a monk would be,
The devil grew whole—the devil a monk was he!"
OLD PROVERB.

was energetic, and severe even to cruelty, while her husband was equally weak and good-natured. The Queen wished to be revenged on those, who in former years had assisted in the mutilation of her husband; and at the Diet of Arad (1132), she made her appearance leading her two sons by the hand. In a pathetic speech she expatiated on the wretched condition of the King, her husband, who was deprived of his sight, while all his subjects enjoyed the view of the beauties of Nature. And why was he blind? Merely because he was his father's son, and because King Koloman's hate wanted a second victim! She concluded her speech by asking for justice for the King, and for the punishment of those, whose advice had induced King Koloman to commit so heinous a crime. Fanaticized by the Queen's speech, the Magnates rose, and drawing their swords killed sixty-eight friends and advisers of King Koloman, because they suspected them of having been privy to the mutilation of Bela. Others were imprisoned, exiled, and their property was confiscated. It is but natural that this gratuitous cruelty should have strengthened the partisans of Boris, who, encouraged by the exiles, attempted at length to invade the country. This invasion led to no result, and all the other attempts of the Pretender led to nothing, but to a repetition of the Arad butchery. For at a meeting of the Magnates of the Kingdom, Helena stood forth and asked them, whether they were of opinion that Boris was the legitimate son of Koloman. Those who replied in the affirmative, or who gave an evasive answer, were arrested and executed on the spot.

Bela was fond of saying, "that misfortune is a greater blessing than good fortune, that success makes men reckless and overbearing; but that misery is the parent of wisdom and perseverance." But this charming philosophy of his was by no means manifested in his measures of government. His loose and easy character made him throw away large sums on his favourites, to the detriment of the available funds for the military establishment of the country. On the other hand, the cruelty of Queen Helena strengthened the power of the Crown. The influence of the Chiefs was all but annihilated, and the King was almost absolute, when Bela died in 1171, leaving his son Geiza, a minor of less than ten years of age. The Diet appointed a Regency, consisting of the Palatine Belus, Uros, the King's uncle, and the Archbishop of Gran. They were all men of distinguished talent, and commemorated the period of their Regency by an important measure, fruitful of consequences. They favoured the immigration into Hungary of Germans from Flanders, who settled in the county of Zips and in Transylvania, and on whom they bestowed some signal privileges, such as a jurisdiction and municipal constitution of their own. The colonists of those days are the ancestors of the "Saxons" in Transylvania.

The new settlers, especially those who inhabited the Carpathian districts of Lower Hungary, devoted themselves to the exploration of the mining resources of the country. They were the first miners and manufacturers in Hungary, and their influence was beneficially exerted in the development of the towns.

Shortly afterwards the scenes of the reign of King Koloman were acted over again. The speeches of Bernhard of Clairvaux fanaticized the nations of Europe, and urged them to another expedition against the Saracens, and the armies of the Crusaders marched again through Hungary, without, however, imparting their enthusiasm to its inhabitants. The Emperor Frederic Barbarossa, with his Germans, took the lead, and sorely was he tempted on this occasion to reduce Hungary to the condition of a fief of his empire; and, even without being the sovereign of the country, he levied contributions from convents and churches. After him came the French, under Louis VII., keeping a severe discipline, and meeting with a better reception than the German Emperor could boast of. But still King Geiza thought proper to assemble his army, and to escort his guests to the frontier. But this danger was scarcely over, when Geiza, like Stephen II., rushed into a variety of feuds and wars. The most important of these wars is doubtless his expedition against Manuel, the Emperor of Byzantium. This war led to no decisive result; but the influence of the Greeks increased, and when Geiza died suddenly in 1161, leaving his successor Stephen III., a minor, Manuel interfered to a considerable extent in the Hungarian affairs, by raising the brothers of Geiza, Ladislas II., and after his decease, Stephen IV. to the throne. But the Hungarians would not be reconciled to the Clients of the Eastern Emperor. They were upheld only by the armies of Manuel, and the Emperor became at last convinced that the conquest of the country was a hopeless undertaking. The decease of the two pretenders enabled him to conclude a peace. He adopted Bela, the King's brother, made him his son-in-law, and promised to procure his succession to the throne of Byzantium. But in the meanwhile, Manuel became most unexpectedly father to a son. Stephen III. died in 1173, and Bela III. of that name ascended the Hungarian throne instead of that of Byzantium. He was the ablest king who had reigned since the days of Koloman; but he was never popular in his country, for he was a Byzantine, and not an Hungarian. He introduced the ceremonies of the Court of Constantinople, he appointed Grand Dignitaries, and at one time he burnt all the chairs which surrounded the throne in the Council-hall, to prevent the Magnates from sitting down in his presence. The management of affairs was given to the Chancellor; petitions and remonstrances were to be made in writing, and the royal decision was likewise conveyed by means of ink and

parchment. But, on the other hand, the King was eager to improve the condition of the country. Thieves and robbers were treated with great severity; the safety of the public highways was restored, and great pains were taken to prevent a foreign war, and to give the country, exhausted from its late feuds, time to regain its ancient propriety. But among all these multifarious objects, the King was by no means unmindful of his own private treasury, for he was altogether a prince in the modern spirit of Louis Philippe.

He died in 1195, leaving two sons, Emrich and Andreas, and with them the germs of a civil war, for it might have been expected that the younger brother would insist on having a dukedom, and afterwards a crown, as it happened in the reigns of Andreas, Solomon, Koloman, and Stephen III. To obviate this danger, Bela compelled his younger son to pledge his word that he would make a Crusade to the Holy Grave, for which purpose the king left him the contents of his private treasury. But Andreas had no intention whatever to act up to his promise; he spent his riches to gain the good offices of a party, and at the head of that party he made a peremptory demand for the provinces of Croatia and Dalmatia; and when King Emrich refused to comply with his request, he advanced, and seized the two provinces by force. A war ensued, which led to a peace, by which Andreas was confirmed in the possession of Croatia and Dalmatia, under the express condition that he should make his expedition to Palestine. He promised, but he did not keep his word. Another war broke out in 1199, and a third in 1203; for in that year Emrich had his son, the boy Ladislas, crowned as a King of Hungary, and by this act he deprived Andreas of his last hope of the crown. Andreas rebelled against his brother, and marched against him at the head of a large army. Emrich found that many of his supporters abandoned him, for the profuse liberality of Andreas induced many men of distinction and power to join his party.

The extremity of his circumstances caused Emrich to throw all his hopes of safety upon one cast. Dressed in his regal robes, with the crown on his head and the sceptre in his hand, he proceeded alone to the camp of his enemies, who were formed in order of battle. As he approached, he cried with a loud voice:

"I am your King! Which of you dares to raise a traitor's hand against his sovereign?"

The men-at-arms stood aside as he passed, and thus the King proceeded to his brother's tent, whom he arrested in the midst of his troops. He brought him to his own camp, imprisoned him in a fortified castle, and sent Gertrude, Andreas' ambitious wife, to his friends in Meran. A short time afterwards, King Emrich was taken dangerously ill. He felt his end approaching, and he desired to

leave his crown to the child Ladislas. He thought of gaining Andreas by generosity. He liberated him, and made him the guardian of Ladislas. Emrich died in 1204. He was scarcely dead, when Andreas seized the royal treasury, and excluded the Queen Dowager, Constantia, from all influence in state affairs. It was clear, without the possibility of a doubt, that he thought of making away with his ward. Constantia and her child fled to Austria. But the child's death saved Hungary from a civil war, and in 1205 Andreas ascended the throne as legitimate King of his country.

The history of the reign of Andreas II. is of the greatest importance for Hungary. This King was weak, extravagant, and ambitious of extending his influence to foreign countries. He wished to gain a throne for his second son, Koloman, and for that purpose he made several wars, by which he at length gained Gallicia in 1215. But as the financial and military establishments of Hungary were intended only for defensive, and not for aggressive wars, the King was obliged to resort to extraordinary means to pay the expenses of his invasions of foreign countries. He deteriorated the coin of the realm, without, however, effecting the object he desired, beyond disarranging and unsettling the commercial relations of the country. High prices and fares paid in bad coin were the result of this measure. In the second instance, he sold, mortgaged, and did away with the castle-domains, whose resources had hitherto served to pay the garrisons of the castles; and when the income of the State grew gradually less under his hands, he fell back upon the crown-land, without once considering that these measures were calculated to undermine the military establishment and the finances of the country. The natural consequence of these proceedings was, that the influence of the aristocracy, who profited by the sale of the Castle lands, increased at the same ratio, as that of the Court declined, until the King wanted the power to prevent the oppression of the lower nobility and the people at large by a mighty oligarchy, which opposed the Crown in every one of its measures. For the purpose of fortifying his throne, the King surrounded himself with foreign favourites, who were chiefly relations of his wife, who was daughter to the Duke of Mezan. He treated the native aristocracy with neglect, and thus he increased the ardour of their opposition. At length, he had no resource left to prevent an insurrection, but to appeal to the assistance of foreigners. He applied to the Pope, who easily seized this opportunity to extend his power, and who, in the first instance excommunicated all those who dared to oppose the King; but soon afterwards the Pope thought proper to threaten the King with an interdict if he would continue to oppress his people; for when the financial difficulties increased every day, Andreas had no resource, but in farming out the income of the State to the few,

and to Mahometan Ishmaelites, who drained the country, and who pressed its inhabitants to become converts to their religion.

Public indignation turned chiefly against Queen Gertrude, who was fond of interfering in State affairs, and against her brothers, Berthold and Eckbert, who, in spite of their ignorance, and the dissoluteness of their lives, were promoted to the highest dignities, while they did all in their power to scandalize and insult the moral feelings of the Hungarian people. So early as the year 1209, a conspiracy against the life of the Queen had been discovered, and the conspirators were punished; but five years later, she was effectually assassinated by the Palatine, Bankban, and his friends. Bankban committed this deed for the purpose of avenging the honour of his house, which had been violated by Eckbert, the Queen's brother.[1] Andreas punished the murderers, but he could not allay the prevailing discontent; and in order to conciliate at least the favour of the Pope, and avail himself of his spiritual weapons, he made in 1217 a Crusade to Palestine. But to defray the expense of this foolish expedition, he seized the treasures of the Church, and even the private property of Constantia, the widow of King Emrich, and the wife of the German Emperor, Frederick, who of course became his enemy in return.

The expedition of King Andreas was more of a pilgrimage than a crusade. He visited Jerusalem and Genazareth, and after having attacked in vain the Seljuk Turks on mount Tabor, he returned, and found his empire in full dissolution. His son, Koloman, had been expelled from Galicia. The discontent of the Hungarians had reached its height. The people were grievously oppressed. The Magnates were exacting and overbearing. His treasury was empty, for the revenue officers had embezzled the monies under their care, and crossed the frontier. Still the lessons of adversity were lost upon the King, who drained the last resources of the country for an expedition to Galicia, for the purpose of reconquering that country for his son. His army was defeated in 1219, and Koloman himself fell into hopeless captivity.

This state of things could not possibly last. Bela, the King's eldest son and successor, was called upon to make a radical reform. He convoked the oppressed low nobility, the *Franklins* of Hungary,

[1] The Conspirators informed the Archbishop of Gran of their resolution, asking his advice, which he gave in writing, to the following purpose, and perfectly ambiguous:

"Reginam occidere nolite timere bonum est, si omnes consenserint ego non contradico." for it might be read, "Reginam occidere nolite timere; bonum est. Si omnes consenserint, ego non contradico." But the sentence admitted of another reading, viz: "Reginam occidere nolite; timere bonum est. Si omnes consenserint, ego non, contradico.

and the garrisons of the castles; and backed by so formidable a force he demanded the restoration of the old Constitution, and the reform of the financial measures. His demands were of course opposed by the high aristocracy, who rallied round the King, and a civil war was on the point of breaking out, when in 1222, the whole clergy of Hungary, obedient to the Pope's commands, joined the Reform party, and negotiated a Peace, the conditions of which, known by the name of the *Golden Bull* (bulla aurea), came to be the most important document of Hungarian liberty. That bill does not indeed contain any new rights for the people, but in it the King acknowledged and confirmed the people's old and hereditary rights, which, though long established, had always been open to the attacks of the Kings. The following are the chief clauses of this important document:

"All the rights and liberties of the nobility and the garrisons (of castles), were again confirmed. None of them was to be attacked in his person or property, without a legal summons, examination, and verdict; they are not to be taxed, and he is subject to no one but the King. Their petty differences are to be decided in county-courts; cases of greater importance are to be reserved to the annual sessions, to be held on the 20th of August on St. Stephen's day, at Stuhlweissenburg, where they are to be heard by the King and the Palatine, with the co-operation and assistance of the nobility. When the country is attacked, they are obliged to do military service, but they cannot be compelled to serve in an offensive war, and on any other than Hungarian territory; and if they consent to follow the King across the frontier, the expense of the expedition is to be borne by the King. Finally, they are entitled to dispose of their property by will or otherwise, according to their inclination.

"The fiscal domains which the King had alienated, and which were in the hands of the aristocracy, were to be restored, and for the future it was illegal to devote them to any other purpose, than to the defraying of the public expenditure. It was declared illegal to farm the income of the States to Jews and Ishmaelites; foreigners were to be excluded from holding office or land in Hungary, unless they had first obtained letters of naturalization from the Privy Council. The Magnates of the Empire, and indeed the King with them, were forbidden to oppress the low nobility by visiting them with their followers. The currency and the jurisdiction of courts were regulated, and it was provided that no man should hold two offices at once, with the exception of the Ban of Croatia, the Palatine, and the Lord Chief Justice (Judex Curiæ)."

The conclusion of the *Golden Bull* contains a clause, which is famous in Hungarian history, and in which it is enacted, that "if the King or his descendants should despise the laws of the country,

that then the Magnates and free-men should be entitled to resist the authority of such a King, without thereby incurring the penalties of high treason."

The carrying of this bill was a matter of great labour. Bela was commissioned to confiscate the alienated state-property, but he met with an obstinate resistance from the high aristocracy, who went to the length of offering the kingdom to the German Emperor Frederick, while King Andreas wanted the energy to punish them. He preferred half measures to a bold and determined conduct, and thus he prolonged the crisis. At length he was compelled again to confirm the *Golden Bull* at the Diet of 1231, and on this occasion to extend the jurisdiction of the clergy, and to add the clause that the Archbishop of Gran should be privileged to excommunicate any King who violated the laws. But in spite of all their clauses and threats, Andreas remained weak, sullen, and refractory, and died in 1235.

Bela, the fourth of that name, who as heir apparent had taken the lead of the Reform movement, remained faithful to his principles when he ascended the throne. He broke the power of the Magnates, and protected the great men of the nation against aristocratical encroachments upon their rights, while the Magnates exerted the last remnants of their legal power to undermine the King's authority. It was, therefore, a great satisfaction to Bela, that Kuthen, King of the Kumans, immigrated into Hungary with forty thousand of his people (1239), and subjected himself and his followers to Bela's authority; for that Prince hoped to find a new source of strength in the sudden arrival of this kindred nation. The Mongols who broke loose from the East, under the guidance of Batu Chan, had expelled the Kumans from their settlements. These people, though they became willing converts to Christianism, were far less civilized than the Hungarians. They had no clear idea about landed property, and hence they were in perpetual conflict with the Hungarians. This state of things engendered suspicion and ill-feeling, and was finally attended with very serious consequences. In 1241, the Mongols assembled an army of 500,000 men, and threatened to invade Europe. Bela invoked the assistance of the Duke of Austria, Frederick of Babenberg, and he even promised to recognize the German Emperor Frederick as his feudal lord, if that potentate would oppose the Mongols with the whole of his power. But the German Emperor refused to assist Bela, and the Duke of Austria, who came to the rescue, was accompanied by a few knights only. He was prepared to act as a spectator, but not as an ally. Both the German Emperor and the Austrian Duke had no objection to see Hungary humiliated and maimed, for they anticipated that it would afterwards be an easy prey. The Hungarian Magnates too, were very slack in preparing for the defence: they protested, that since the King

had restored the old Constitution of the country, which was asserted to be sufficient for any defensive war, they saw no reason why they should put themselves to any extraordinary expense to succour him. The consequences might have been foreseen. The Mongols defeated the Palatine's troops in the Carpathian defiles, and their outposts advanced to the vicinity of Pest, where the Duke of Austria, instead of leading the Hungarians to battle, was busy in inflaming them against the Kumans, whom he represented as allies and spies of the Mongols: and heading a furious mob of fanatics, he attacked and wounded Prince Kuthen. Upon this, part of the Kumans fled from the country, part of them surrendered to the Mongols, and only a few of them remained with the Hungarians. At length King Bela assembled his troops, and advanced against the invaders, who retreated to the river Theiss, when a decisive battle was fought at Mohi. The Hungarians were defeated, and the Mongols had the country in their power. Koloman, the King's brother, died from his wounds; and the King sought refuge in the first instance with Frederick of Austria, who instead of offering him hospitality, arrested him, and only released him under the condition of his resigning the border counties of Hungary.

After his escape from the hands of the Austrians, King Bela fled into Croatia, and at length, being still pursued by the Mongols, he sought refuge on the Dalmatian island of Veglia. The Mongols devastated Hungary, during one year and a half; they burned and sacked villages and cities, and slaughtered their inhabitants; but when the news came to them, that Oktai, the Great Chan of the Golden Tribe was dead, Batu and his followers left the country, and returned to Asia to vindicate Batu's rights to the succession.

King Bela returned in 1242. Hungary was a desert; a *tabula rasa*. The King was called upon to found a new Empire. He rebuilt the cities, and gave them ample privileges, and the most perfect self-government, to increase their population. He renewed the title-deeds of the landed proprietors, but in doing this he changed the *allods* into feudal holdings; he encouraged the construction of mountain-fastnesses, and transplanted the Kumans from Bulgaria whither they had fled, to the plains between the Theiss and the Danube. In four years the country had so far recovered, that Bela was enabled to make an expedition of revenge against Frederick of Austria, for the purpose of recovering the three counties, which that Prince had forced him to resign. Fortune favoured at first the arms of the Austrian Prince; but in the battle of Wiener-Neustadt, he fell pierced by the arrow of the Count Frangepani, a friend of King Bela, the same who had hospitably received him at Veglia.

In 1262, Hungary was again threatened by the Mongols; but in

this instance they found the King well armed, and prepared. Nogai Chan, their leader, was driven back over the Carpathian mountains, with a loss of fifty thousand men.

The last years of Bela's reign were the most trying for him. His son Stephen, an ambitious and energetic youth, fomented an insurrection against his father; a prolonged contest, with a variety of unsuccessful skirmishes and fruitless reconciliations, again undermined the royal authority. The Magnates of the Empire profited by the King's embarrassments, and struggled to regain their ancient power; the administration of justice was disorganized, and the progress of the country impeded. Bela died in 1220, in sullen despair of ever attaining the object he had struggled for. He was an able King, though severely tried by misfortune.

Stephen V. reigned only two years. His early death prevented him from displaying his undoubted energy, and exerting it for the benefit of his country.

Ladislas IV. was a child of ten years when he succeeded to the throne of his father Stephen. The contest between Ottokar of Bohemia and Rudolph of Hapsburg, broke out during his minority. The Hungarians took the part of the Hapsburgs, and assisted them effectually in this war, and particularly in the decisive battle of Marchegg, which first established the power of the House of Hapsburg. When Ladislas grew up, his hot temper was unable to resist the charms of the Kuman and Tartar women, with whom he lived under tents. The civilization of Hungary declined, as the King himself set an example of a vagrant nomade life. An insurrection broke out, but the King, a second Alcibiades, rose from the haunts of pleasure and defeated the insurgents, as well as at a later period his favourites the Kumans, when they became exacting and overbearing. At length he fell in 1290, under the murderous strokes of three Kuman bandits, who had been hired by Edna, a beautiful Kuman girl, whom the fickle King had abandoned to rove in quest of fresh beauties.

After Ladislas's death, there was but one male descendant of the House of Arpad left, viz. Andreas III. called *Venetus*. He was a grand-son of Andreas II. and a son of Catharina Morosini, a native of Venice. But as he was without male issue, a war of succession broke out while he was still alive. The Emperor Rudolph claimed the country for his son Albrecht, pretending it was a fief of the German Empire. The Pope too claimed the right of disposing of the sovereignty. He invested Charles Martell of Anjou with the crown of Hungary; while some of the Hungarian Magnates, such as the Count of Güssingen, the ancestor of the Batthyanyis, on the frontiers of Austria, the Count of Breber in Croatia, the ancestors of the Zrinyis, Matthew of Trencsin in Upper Hungary, and the Apors in

Transylvania, endeavoured to profit by the general dissolution, and to establish their independence. They all attempted to monopolize the power in their respective districts. Andreas had great trouble to preserve the unity of the Kingdom, and to oppose the general and prevailing confusion. He died of poison in the year 1301, and with him the family of Arpad became extinct on the throne of Hungary.

Second Period.

HUNGARY UNDER KINGS FROM DIFFERENT HOUSES (ANJOU, LUXEMBOURG, AUSTRIA, HUNYADY, JAGHELLO).

With the extinction of the Arpadian House, the relations of Hungary to the rest of Europe were substantially changed. Under national kings, the interests of the country and those of the royal family had been the same, and consequently, in this period, the firm foundations of the Hungarian State had been laid. The wars of this period had been of a mere defensive character against neighbours, who had attacked the new kingdom in order to subdue it, or bloody border conflicts of common frequency in those days throughout all Europe, or civil wars of succession, but none of any influence on the general politics of Europe.

The position, on the contrary, that the Hungarians held during the second period of their history under princes, whose family interests reached far beyond the limits of Hungary, partook much more of European significance, though it will never rivet the attention of the philosopher so much, as the gradual civilization of Hungary and the growth of her free constitution in the first period. The European ideas of the Middle Ages, were of course imported into the country with its foreign rulers. The feudal laws and feudal governments, the traces of which, till now, had been scarcely visible in Hungary, throve vigorously under the Neapolitan Anjous; the brilliant tournaments became fashionable about this time, and lent to the social circle of the nobles a more Western colouring. Guilds, corporations and commercial monoplies exerted a great influence on the Middle Classes in the towns. The nation became more warlike than ever, and the military glory of Hungary was spread over all Europe, until this period of the Hungarian history—the richest in heroic achievements and romantic events—came to a tragic close by the catastrophe of the battle of Mohacs.

The ablest and most powerful pretender to the crown of Hungary, after the death of Andreas the Third, was Charles Robert of Anjou,

a grandson of the King of Naples and of the daughter of Bela the Fourth. The Hungarians, however, resisted his claims, because he was to take the Crown from the hands of the Pope and to recognize him as his liege lord. They elected Wenceslaus of Bohemia and then Otto of Bavaria, both of them descendants of the female lineage of Arpad, their kings, but none of them was able to maintain his ground against the oligarchical rulers of the country. The riots and disputes, arising from these causes, lasted till 1309, when Charles Robert was at length elected, and crowned King of Hungary by the Diet, but with a solemn declaration on their part, that he owed the Crown to their free choice exclusively. Upper Hungary, however, still obeyed the sway of Count Matthæus of Trencsin, who usurped royal power with the pretence of defending the claims of Elizabeth, the daughter of Andreas the Third, to the throne—and who, though defeated in the same year, near Kaschau, in the valley of Rozgony, by the troops of Charles Robert, and chiefly by the valour of the Germans from Zips, and of their Count, an ancestor of the Goergeys—never submitted to the King and reigned unmolested in the North-west of Hungary, till his death (1318). Though the struggle, that Charles Robert was compelled to carry on for the Crown, was not without success, yet his defeat in an unjust war, undertaken against his vassal Bazarad, the Prince of Wallachia, was the more humiliating (1330). He saved his life with difficulty, and Bazarad became for some time independent of Hungary. The King was not of a pre-eminently warlike disposition, and strove to found the greatness of his country by the arts of peace. Notwithstanding the restoration of the military system under Andreas and Bela, it was no longer that of the ancient times, and Charles Robert considered the royal castles with their hereditary garrisons, as thoroughly insufficient. He preferred, therefore, to introduce the feudal system into Hungary, in consequence of which, the great landed proprietors went to war with their banners (banderia), and enjoyed the royal protection. In order to restore the balance of the finances, that could not be any longer kept up by the legal revenues from the national domains and royal castles, a tax was raised by Charles Robert,—but according to the feudal system only from those who were no nobles, and eighteen denars were allotted to every peasant. The growth and prosperity of towns was favoured by liberal privileges,—commerce and well-being returned with peace and rendered the coinage of gold a necessity. The commercial transactions under the Arpads had been so petty, that small silver coins were more than sufficient, and where commerce rendered, in rare cases, greater sums necessary, the foreign Byzantine gold florins were used.

Charles Robert was the first Hungarian King under whose reign

gold was coined. He raised in the same time the metallic standard of silver coins, and exchanged for the benefit of commerce the old silver money for gold coins of full weight. He did not like Diets, and only once convoked the States of the realm to get the ratification of the barbarous penalties by which he intended to extirminate the Zachs, because Felician, the chief of that family, had taken his revenge for the violation of his daughter Clara, on the Queen, whose hand he maimed,—Casimir, the debaucher, being her brother.

The King liked to meddle with foreign affairs. He extended his influence far beyond the limits of the kingdom, and set an example, very rare in those times, of the possibility to avoid war by arbitration. The Duke of Silesia had died without children in the year 1335. Casimir, King of Poland, and John, King of Bohemia, both claimed this rich province, which lay between them. Charles Robert, the ally of both, exerted all his efforts to prevent them from going to war, and at length invited them, along with their next neighbours, the Duke of Moravia and the Knights of the Teutonic order, the rulers of Prussia in those times, to Visegrad. He entertained them during eighteen days with royal munificence; the guests swallowed, according to the tales of the chroniclers, 4,000 loaves of bread and 18,000 bottles of wine a day, and in this way a peace between the contending parties was concluded, to the most complete satisfaction of both. The Bohemian got Silesia by renouncing, on the other hand, some of his Polish territories, and Charles Robert guaranteed the treaty. Respected abroad, more feared than loved at home in spite of his merits, because he never became a downright Hungarian, Charles Robert died in the year 1342, after a long reign, under which the country had attained a considerable degree of prosperity.

His son, Louis the Great, was seventeen years of age when he was crowned, amidst the thundering cheers of the Hungarians, six days after the interment of his father. Of Hungarian education,—beautiful, chivalrous, and endowed with extraordinary talents, he was the favourite of the Hungarian nobility. His military exploits gained him the surname of the Great,—he extended the limits of Hungary to three seas,—he was a great statesman, but his policy was more of a foreign than of a domestic character, for the aim of his policy was the extension and lustre of his country and not its liberty.

His first war was adventurous. He proceeded to Naples to revenge the murder of his brother. King Robert of Naples had died there without male issue (1343). The Crown belonged to the Hungarian branch of the Anjous, and in order to prevent any possible dispute, Charles Robert had concluded a treaty with his uncle Robert, in virtue of which, Andreas, the second son of Charles Robert, was to marry Jane, Robert's grand-daughter, and share with

her the royal dignity of Naples. But the profligate Neapolitan princess despised her weak husband, Andreas, who was no more than sixteen years old, and she would by no means recognize him as King of Naples, but only as Prince of Salerno. She ordered him at length to be strangled with a silken cord, by her cousins, the Princes of Tarento and Durazzo in Aversa. No sooner had King Louis received these tidings than he applied to the Pope, Clement the Sixth., and demanded from him as liege lord of Naples, the deposition of Jane, the murderess of her husband. The Pope hesitated, but the King conducted an Hungarian army, under a black banner, throughout Italy. Naples surrendered, and Jane fled to Avignon, which was an inheritance of her family, with Louis of Tarento, whom she had married. Charles of Durazzo was the only murderer of the unhappy Andreas, who fell into the hands of the King: he was executed in the same room in which Andreas had been strangled.

Louis now took the title of King of both Sicilies, and, after having left in Naples a Hungarian garrison, and Stephen Laczkovics as viceroy, returned to Hungary, without ceasing to urge the Pope to pronounce a verdict on Jane. As the tidings reached her that King Louis had left Naples, she sold her rights over Avignon to the Pope, and returned to Naples, where the small garrison of the Hungarians was pressed very hard by an insurrection. Louis was therefore compelled to proceed, 1350, a second time to Naples. He took Canossa, Salerno, and Aversa, by storm, and conquered the country again. Yet he was soon convinced that the Neapolitans would never willingly bear the yoke of foreigners. In the meantime, Pope Clement had pronounced the sentence, that Jane had been bewitched into the murder of Andreas, and should consequently keep the realm, and only indemnify Louis by three hundred thousand gold florins for the expenses of the war; Louis left Naples and forgave the beautiful sinner the expiatory sum.

This was the result of the adventurous war of the Hungarians in Naples. Its immediate consequences to Hungary were, that the King allotted for ever, to the nobility in the Diet, of 1351, the ninth part of the whole agricultural produce of the peasantry, as an indemnification for the sacrifices of the nobles in that war. This is the origin of the *Ninth*, a tax greatly injurious to industry, and abolished only so late as the year 1848. Also Feudalism was legally introduced in the above-mentioned Diet. The free disposal of landed property was taken away from the proprietor; the family was declared sole proprietor and the individual became only usufructuary. Thus landed property was fettered and immobilized, but feudalism could not be carried so far as to exclude female succession: first, because the King had no sons, and willed the crown to fall on a daughter; next, the Hungarians were accustomed to female succes-

sion; the daughter could therefore by no means be excluded from the heirship of the land.

By the introduction of feudalism, the castle system of baronies ceased to form the basis of the Hungarian military system; therefore the garrison of the castle, which besides belonged to the freemen, were ennobled by the King. As they had but small landed property, they became the ancestors of the later peasant nobles (*Nobiles unius Sessionis*).

Louis waged many wars during his reign of forty years, and distinguished himself by his generosity, as well as by his bravery. He vanquished in single combat Keystutt, Prince of Lithuania, who had invaded Galicia during the Neapolitan war. After having disarmed his enemy, the King released him, under the condition, that he would accept the Christian faith. The heathen prince pledged himself to do it, but it was only his son who redeemed his word. In the war against the Venetian Republic, Louis beleaguered Treviso in Friaul. During the siege, the Doge Gradenigo died, and Delfino, the commander of the fortress, was elected in his stead. The Venetians requested a free retreat for their new Duke; Louis granted the request, and Delfino proved his gratitude by the immediate conclusion of a peace with the chivalrous King. The Hungarians got by the treaty the coast of Dalmatia, whilst the supremacy of the Republic over the Dalmatian isle was recognized by Hungary, and commercial privileges were ensured to the Venetian merchants. In the East, King Louis forced Bazarad, the Prince of Wallachia, to acknowledge again the superiority of Hungary. After the death of Casimir, King of Poland, who was the uncle of Louis by the mother's side, he was called to the throne by the Poles, and crowned at Cracow (1370). The affairs of Hungary forbade him to remain long in Poland; he therefore appointed his mother Elizabeth, sister of the late King Casimir, Regent of the country, and returned himself to Visegrad. But the great task of his life was less the aggrandizement of his realm, than the propagation of the Romish creed amongst his subjects. He not only converted the heathen Kumans, but likewise succeeded in persuading the Ruthenians of the oriental creed, who at this period had settled in Hungary, to submit to the authority of the Pope. His endeavours in the same direction proved fruitless with the Wallachs in Hungary and Transylvania. It was in vain that he removed their oriental clergymen, and replaced them by Catholic priests from Dalmatia; the Wallachs steadily kept to their creed. At last, many of them could no longer bear their oppression, and emigrated to Moldavia. But the King pursued them even to their new country; here too they could not escape his sway, yet he protected them against external enemies, and defeated the Krimean Tartars between the Bug and the Dnieper, when they

extended their plundering incursion as far as into Moldavia. Altomos, the Tartar Prince, was killed by the King in single combat, and his son was compelled to adopt Christianity. Louis died in 1392; his death prevented the execution of his great design to unite firmly the kingdoms of Poland and Hungary; thus to create a powerful realm, which, in the East of Europe, would occupy the same position which France had obtained in the West, and would take the lead of Christianity and civilization in the East. But the misgovernment of Elizabeth made in Poland every regency unpopular. The Poles claimed a king for themselves. The beautiful Hedviga daughter of King Louis, became Queen of Poland, and yielding to political reasons, she married Uladislas Jaghello, Prince of Lithuania, who, after having been baptized, united his own duchy to the kingdom of his wife.

In Hungary, Maria, the elder daughter of the great Louis, was crowned queen; her royal consort, Sigismund, of Luxemburg, subsequently Emperor of Germany, and King of Bohemia, received the title of "Guardian of the Realm." It was now, for the first time, that a woman wore the sacred crown of St. Stephen. But to the woe of the country, neither she, nor her mother Elizabeth, who greatly influenced her, was adequate to her important duties. Uladislas Jaghello took possession of Galicia; Dalmatia and Croatia revolted against the Queen, and the Ban Horváthy, Palisna the Prior of Vrána, and Laczkovics, the valiant companion of King Louis in his Neapolitan campaign, invited the King of Naples, Charles Martell, "the Little," to the throne of Hungary, as he was the next male to King Louis. War seemed to be unavoidable; but Sigismund, the "Guardian of the realm," found no other means to fill the empty Treasury than to pawn the country between the Vág and the Danube, to his cousins Iodoc and Procop of Moravia. By this measure he estranged the feelings of the Hungarians to the Queen. When, therefore, Charles Martell landed in Dalmatia (1385), he was received enthusiastically, and advanced to Buda without meeting with any resistance. The Queens submitted; they went to greet him, he treated them as their protector, and as the chief of the family. His party proclaimed him King, and he summoned Maria to resign the crown, too heavy for a woman. When she had complied to this demand, he assembled a Diet at Fejérvár on the last day of the year, for his coronation. Charles required the Queens to be present at this solemnity; they appeared, but in mourning apparel. Notwithstanding all the respect with which Charles distinguished them, they seemed prisoners; whilst he was crowned at the altar, they sobbed and prostrated themselves on the gravestone of King Louis; compassion for the unprotected Princesses won many a heart for Maria, yet her mother, Elizabeth, did not wait for the natural development

of this sympathy, but preferred violent means. The Queens, after their return to Buda, invited the newly-crowned King to a confidential interview in the castle. During the conference, Blasius Forgács struck down the King with his sword, in the presence of Maria, by the order of Elizabeth, in compliance with the advice of Palatine Gara, the devoted champion of the Queen. The Italian garrison of Buda, small in number, was taken by surprise and easily dispersed. Hungary again acknowledged Maria as legal Sovereign, whilst in Croatia, the Neapolitan party strongly pronounced itself against her. The Queen Dowager believed, that compassion would here likewise act as strongly as in Hungary in favour of the beautiful daughter of King Louis. She therefore went with Maria to Croatia, accompanied only by a small body of troops under the command of Gara and Forgács. But the Croats proved inaccessible to romantic sentimentality. The Ban Horváthy attacked the Hungarian guards at Diakovár, and defeated them; Gara and Forgács were, in spite of their heroic resistance, dragged from their horses, and beheaded under the very eyes of the Queens, who were plundered of their royal jewels, and imprisoned in the Dalmatian Castle of Novigrod. Palisna intended to deliver them up to the Queen of Naples, the dowager of the murdered Charles Martell, who was to send her son Ladislas to Hungary as heir to the crown. Venice prevented the execution of this plan; the Republic respected the treaty with King Louis, blockaded the coasts and beleaguered Palisna in his fortress of Novigrod; in spite of this, the Prior strangled the Queen Dowager.

Whilst Croatia was wholly subjected to the Neapolitan party, the Hungarians too became averse to submit any longer to the sceptre of a frail woman. Sigismund availed himself of this disposition; he assembled a Diet in 1387, and had himself elected King. His first measure was, of course, the deliverance of the Queen. His General Gara, the brother of the murdered Palatine, defeated the troops of Horváthy, and compelled him to a treaty, in consequence of which Maria was set free. But danger had not yet subsided for Sigismund. Croatia and Bosnia, which since the reign of Louis had recognized the supremacy of Hungary, still remained in a state of rebellion, and opposed the Neapolitan Prince Ladislas to King Sigismund. Jaghello, the brother-in-law of the King, claimed at the same time the suzerainty of Moldavia and Wallachia for the Poles, after he had previously occupied Galicia. The greatest danger threatened from the south; the power of the Turks daily increased, and awakened the apprehensions of all Europe. Sigismund, therefore, marched against the Sultan in 1395: before Nicopolis, the tidings of the death of Queen Maria reached him. He returned speedily to take the reins of the Government by his own right. His first measure was a breach of faith. By promises of amnesty he allured to Buda

thirty-two distinguished adherents of the Neapolitan party, amongst whom the brave Kont was the most highly esteemed. Regardless of his pledge, and of the law, he had them executed without trial. Meanwhile numerous knights arrived with their vassals from Germany and from France, to shield the endangered East of Europe against the hosts of Bajazed. Sigismund led them with a considerable Hungarian army against the enemy in 1396. All were convinced that the Turks could not resist, and Sigismund exclaimed at the review of his troops: "If the firmament wavers, the lances of this army will support it." This wantonness was terribly punished at Nicopolis. The Christian warriors were routed by Bajazed, and almost entirely destroyed. Sigismund himself scarcely escaped to the Danube, from whence he returned to Hungary by the sea, Constantinople, and Dalmatia. The adherents of the Neapolitan Ladislas got new strength; Sigismund began to negotiate with them. He invited Laczkovics, the chief of this party, to the Diet at Körös (Crisium, Kreutz), and as the old hero, relying on the royal word, trustfully complied with the summons, he was taken prisoner, and executed without trial. When Sigismund had in this manner got rid of one of his most dangerous enemies, he deemed himself secure, and indulged in his favourite manœuvres of diplomacy.

Without consulting the Hungarian Diet, he concluded treaties with his brother Wenceslas, Emperor of Germany and King of Bohemia, and with his cousins the Princes of Moravia, in which they stipulated amongst themselves mutual succession in Hungary, Bohemia, and Moràvia, for the survivor. The Hungarian Magnates soon got tired of these intrigues; they took the King by surprise in his royal palace, and imprisoned him in the castle of Siklós. They released him, however, after eighteen weeks, on his oath that in future he would abstain from all arbitrary acts, and never would avenge his imprisonment. In this instance he kept his word, quite contrary to his custom.

Sigismund's reign was the longest recorded in the Hungarian annals: he ruled for fully half a century. During this time, he became King of Bohemia and Emperor of Germany, travelled much about, and intermixed with all European complications; but he neglected in many respects the interests of Hungary. Always ready to mediate peace, he took part in every contest of middle Europe, and by his very interference gave occasion for wars, in which he became involved against his intention. The most important of these struggles was no doubt the war against the Hussites. Sigismund wanted, in the Council of Constance, to re-establish the Peace of the Church, and had there burnt at the stake, as a heretic, John Huss, one of the Professors at Prague, regardless of the imperial safe-conduct which he had granted to the great Reformer. But the sparks

of this pile set all Bohemia on fire, and spread over a great part of Germany and the north-west of Hungary, as the adherents of Huss carried on a bloody war, which raged for many years in these countries. In Hungary, Sigismund still was unable to subdue the Neapolitan party, when he had at the same time to resist Venice and the Sultan, who threatened Servia. Lazarevics, the venerable Prince of Servia, recognized the King of Hungary as his liege, in order to escape the Turkish yoke. The aid of Hungary proved efficient to him, as John Hunyady—whose name we here meet for the first time—defeated the Turks at Belgrade in 1437.

Sigismund wanted much money, no less for his diplomatic journeys, than to provide for his wars. Prodigality was the prominent feature of his character. The Roman Ambassador, Æneas Sylvius, tells us that the King once, late in the evening, saw at the revisal of the accounts that the Treasury had a surplus of forty thousand gold florins. This disturbed his sleep, he was accustomed to see his Treasury empty, and therefore assembled his courtiers, and dispensed amongst them his riches, to rest without care as to the disposal of this money. Under such circumstances the royal authority could not fail to be injured; the Dignitaries of the realm no longer heeded the desires of their Sovereign. To counterbalance the influence of the Magnates the King granted greater privileges to the towns, and gave them representatives in the Diet, from which they had been excluded until now, as guests (Hospites) not submitted to the Hungarian Common-law, but ruled according to their charters by their own German or Italian customs. Sigismund also supported the counties in the extension of their municipal rights; the County-Congregations became under him of greater importance. To have the towns more speedily peopled, right of free migration was guaranteed anew to the peasantry, who, as the laws of this time evince, were then no serfs. To give more weight to the counties, a second army was formed, besides the troops of the Magnates. This army fought under the banners of the counties, every thirty-three peasant-sessions being bound to furnish one soldier (Insurrectio portalis). As the old castle system of baronies had now entirely vanished, the garrisons were finally all ennobled. No doubt these were wise measures, but the inconsistent and prodigal King had neither the strength nor the steadiness to carry on his excellent designs, and to render them efficient for the welfare of his country. He was perpetually in financial difficulties; though he pawned the towns of Zips to Poland, this momentary aid was of no real avail. If he had no money to lavish, he distributed patents of nobility, not bound to any special property, which therefore by no means answered to the notions of the Hungarians.

Sigismund left no male heir. His only daughter, Elizabeth, was

married to the Arch-Duke of Austria, Albert. He was elected King of Hungary in 1437. But, as the nation had experienced many difficulties arising from the different interests of Sigismund, who had not only been King of Hungary, but likewise of Bohemia, and Emperor of Germany, they restrained the power of their new sovereign. Albert was obliged to promise not to dispose of his daughter's hand without the consent of the Hungarian Diet, and not to accept the Imperial Crown, if offered to him, without the permission of the States of Hungary. Soon afterwards Albert was elected Emperor, and marched against Sultan Murad, who attacked Servia; but the expedition of the King was an unfortunate one, the Hungarians were beaten, and decimated by ravaging sickness, were forced to retire. Albert died on his retreat, 1437, at Neszmely.

His son, Ladislas, was born after his father's death. Elizabeth, the Queen Dowager, was anxious to secure the crown for the Infant. But the Hungarians required a stronger hand to govern them; they disliked a Regency, and therefore elected King Uladislas, of Poland, the great-grandson of the illustrious Louis. Elizabeth fled with the royal child, and the crown of St. Stephen, to Vienna, entreating the protection of her brother-in-law, Frederic III., who held sway over the Austrian provinces in the name of the babe Ladislas. Bohemia was ruled for the same infant, by the Calixtine George Podiebrad. In Hungary, Elizabeth attempted to claim the rights of her son; her general, Giskra of Brandeis, invaded the upper parts of the country; but the Pope at last mediated a peace (1432). Uladislas was, by all parties, acknowledged King, that Hungary might avail itself of its full strength against the Turks. John Hunyady, the Hungarian chief, had already beaten the Turks at Szent Imre, in 1441, after they had broken into Transylvania, and had destroyed, at the "Iron Gate," a second host of the Grand-Vizer, who had been sent to avenge the defeat of Szent Imre. Every one now trusted that the power of the Turks was to be crushed. Hunyady marched, in 1440, with 40,000 men against them; he routed, in five months, five armies successively sent to oppose him, took five fortresses, and, having secured the Principalities of the Danube, he triumphantly returned to Buda. The sultan himself proposed a treaty, in consequence of which, he acknowledged Prince Brankovics Sovereign of Servia, and recognized the supremacy of Hungary over all the Danubian Principalities. The Hungarian Diet accepted these propositions, the Armistice was stipulated for ten years, Uladislas and Murat enforced it by their oaths. When, however, the tidings spread, that an insurrection in Asia Minor had compelled Murat to leave Europe, that George Castriotta (Skanderbeg), King of Epirus, was ready to attack the Turks with 30,000 men, and that the fleet of Genoa was blockading the Hellespont and the Black Sea, the

Cardinal Julian Cesarini called upon the King of Hungary to take up arms and drive the Turks from Europe. The Cardinal asserted that this great aim sanctified the breach of the oath, from which, besides, he gave him solemn dispensation in the name of the Pope. Uladislas could not resist the eloquence of the Cardinal, in spite of Hunyady's solicitations to the contrary. Relying in the words and promises of Julian, the King, in 1444, crossed the Danube, with no more than 20,000 men. Expecting the aid of the Epirotes, he proceeded over the Balkan, to Varna, and advanced to Gallipolis. But Brankovics, the Prince whom Hunyady had re-established in Servia, now was desirous to have his sway secured by the Turks, and therefore gave early notice to the Sultan of all the movements of Uladislas. The Genoese, bribed by Murat, who had succeeded in quenching the revolt in his Asiatic dominions, transported on their fleet the Turkish army, which suddenly appeared in sight of the Hungarians. Murat carried before his host, as standard, the original document of the violated treaty, thus to excite his warriors. At Varna the armies met; Hunyady's bravery had already driven the Turks to flight, when the King, with youthful impetuosity, began to pursue the enemy, and saw himself surrounded unawares; he fell. The Turks hoisted his head on a lance, the fleeing troops rallied, the Hungarians, horror-stricken at the death of their King, were routed. Cardinal Julian was killed, Hunyady escaped to Wallachia, where Drakul, the Voivoda of the Wallachs, took him prisoner, probably with the aim to get a considerable ransom either from the foes or from the friends of the hero. Yet, notwithstanding the last defeat of the Hungarians, still afraid of them, he set Hunyady at liberty without delay, when summoned to it.

Under such dangerous circumstances the Palatine Hedervary convoked the Diet in 1445. All parties met, and the majority resolved, that if King Uladislas really was dead, of which many still doubted, Ladislas Posthumus, who already as infant had been crowned—was to be recognized King. The country meanwhile was divided into seven districts, to which seven captains were appointed for administration and defence. Hunyady of course received the district most threatened at the time,—Transylvania and the lower part of the Tisza. A deputation then was sent to Vienna, to bring the young king and the crown; but the Emperor Frederick, the uncle of Ladislas, wishing to extort money from the Hungarians, required payment for the education of his nephew and ransom for the crown. Ulrich, Count of Cilly, grand-uncle to the King, by the last mother's side, was ambitious to become Regent, and therefore tried to excite dissensions between Hunyady and the other great men of the realm. His intrigues failed; Hunyady was unanimously elected Governor of Hungary in 1446. Royal power was

given into his hands during the King's minority, to enable him to protect the country the more effectually. For ten years did Hunyady sway over the destinies of Hungary, with unshaken fidelity to his country and his King, although the Count Ulrich Cilli, in the King's name persecuted him with his intrigues; and although Giskra went the length of taking the field openly against him. He was repeatedly in danger of his life, but he foiled the plans of his assassins, and undismayed and uninfluenced by enmities and persecutions, he devoted his life to Hungary. He defended its frontier against the Turks, against the encroachments of the Emperor Frederick, against the Bohemian hordes of Giskra, and against the treasonable plots of the Servian Prince Brankowics, who, in alternate league with Cilli and with the Sultan, vainly attempted to triumph over Hungary and over Hunyady. His justice, disinterestedness and patriotism, were acknowledged by the whole country; and after the battle of Kossovopole, in which he was defeated by Murat (1447), he was as generally popular as after his victory at Semendria (1454). The whole of the nation were convinced that he was his country's greatest general and her most loyal son. But the Camarilla which surrounded the youthful King hated Hunyady with all the bitterness of that hate which is only found at court; and when Ladislas commenced his reign in the year 1483, his narrow mind could not brook the popularity of Hunyady. While he loaded him with honours he sought his ruin.

In 1456 Hungary was attacked by Mohammed II., the conqueror of Constantinople, who marched up to Hunyady's fortress of Belgrade. In this extremity, the King delayed the sending of an army to his rescue, for he would have been pleased with the defeat of the old hero. But Hunyady recruited and equipped an army at his own expense; nor did the people and his friends abandon him in the hour of danger. John Capistran, a Franciscan monk, preached a crusade, and brought large numbers of country-people to the standard of Hunyady, who attacked the formidable and well-appointed forces of the Sultan (14th July). He defeated the Turks and captured three hundred pieces of artillery and an incredible amount of treasure and war stores. Hunyady, the hero, died twenty days after this glorious victory, and after a month, he was followed by his friend and companion-in-arms, John Capistran, the monk.

But the Count Cilli's revengeful passions were by no means allayed by the death of Hunyady; on the contrary, he endeavoured to effect the ruin of the two sons of the late governor.[1] The King

[1] Count Ladislas, the elder son, was to be assassinated at Belgrade, but he escaped, and Count Cilli was killed by the friends of the Hunyady.

made a seeming reconciliation with the two young men, and invited them to come to his court. But when Ladislas Hunyady made his appearance at Buda, he was arrested and forthwith executed. His brother Matthias too was cast into jail, and there is no knowing what his fate would have been, but for the decease of the King, who died at Prague in 1457. The grateful people of Hungary elected Matthias Corvinus, the second son of Hunyady, to the vacant throne.

Matthias was at that time a minor. The government of the country was therefore placed into the hands of his uncle, Michael Szilagyi (an ancestor of the Counts Teleki), and it was stipulated that he should convoke an annual Diet. But Matthias, though just entering his sixteenth year, was a *man* in mind if not in age. He opposed his uncle, who attempted to dispense with the laws of the land; arrested him, and confined him for a short time to the castle of Vilagos.

For one-and-thirty years did Matthias wear the crown. The time of his reign was the most splendid period of Hungarian history. The king, great as a statesman, great as a general, was a friend to liberty, and for that very reason he was a severe ruler, who punished with unflinching severity, any illegal encroachment of the oligarchy, and who subjected the Crown to no other influence than the legal power of the Diet. The position and circumstances of the country, and his own warlike character, involved him in frequent wars, and his talent triumphing over obstacles, he became the parent of modern strategy. He condemned the ancient military establishment of Hungary, but no less did he condemn the clumsy and middle-aged institutions of Louis and Sigismund, and of all European sovereigns; he was the first to establish a standing army, viz. the "Black Legion," which was always kept under arms, and which formed the centre of the levies which joined his standard, when the frontiers of Hungary were threatened by a foreign enemy.

The introduction of a standing army was necessarily followed by a change in the manner of raising, and in the amount of the supplies. Matthias began his financial measures by introducing the greatest order, and the most scrupulous regularity in the expenditure of public monies; and in the next instance he exerted his popularity and authority successfully over the Diet, for the purpose of increasing the public income. Not only did he prevail on the Diet to vote the taxes which were to be levied on the "Villain" population, but he induced them to tax the clergy and the nobility, by voting extraordinary and voluntary supplies. If the system which proved so signally successful in the case of Matthias, had been uniformly adopted by his successors, had they imitated his wise economy, his respect of the people's rights and of the advice of the Diet, they

would have raised Hungary in the sixteenth century, to a proud place among the states of Eastern Europe.

In the first ten years of his reign, Matthias turned his arms principally against the Turks, whom he routed in various battles. Bosnia and Servia, Moldavia and Wallachia, acknowledged at that time the suzerainty of Hungary; and the predatory invasions of the Turks were energetically repulsed by the king, who frequently pursued them across the Danube.

Although Matthias most jealously protected the power of the Crown against the encroachments of the Holy See,[1] he was a zealous Roman Catholic, and he was therefore easily induced to make war upon the Kalixtine, Podiebrad, whom the Bohemians had raised to the throne of their country. This war was pernicious to the interest of both parties. It had some features of signal advantage for the Emperor Frederick of Austria, under whom the Pope had formerly officiated as secretary. George Podiebrad was like Matthias Corvinus, inasmuch as he owed his throne to his own virtues and the confidence of his people. He was quite as good a politician as his adversary; and when the two princes were opposed to each other by religious fanaticism, Frederick of Austria was a gainer on either side, for nothing could be more advantageous to him than that his most powerful neighbours should lessen their forces by a protracted and unprofitable conflict. Podiebrad, as well as Matthias, wished repeatedly to negotiate a peace, but their attempts at reconciliation were frustrated by the intrigues of the Pope's ambassador, and the feud was still raging when Podiebrad died. It is owing to the ill-feeling which was engendered by this protracted war, that the Bohemians did not offer their Crown to the energetic King of Hungary, but to the weak and despicable King of Poland, Uladislas, and this was what Frederick of Austria desired. Matthias concluded a peace, and the temporary dominion over Silesia and Moravia was all he gained by a war of ten years' duration.

The most dangerous of the King's antagonists was the Emperor Frederick III., a tough Austrian, miserly, vindictive, and patient, ever ready when driven to extremities, to give any promise, and to break it as readily, whenever circumstances favoured him. At the time of Matthias' elevation to the throne, the Austrian Emperor put forth a claim to Hungary, and when that claim was disregarded, he fomented and fostered all domestic and foreign intrigues against the

[1] The king declared: "Nolumus omnino in temporalibus a sede apostolica judicari, non modo super civitatibus, et castris, sed nec super uno fundo vel una vinea." And to the pope he wrote in 1481: "Certa debet esse sua Sanctitas, duplicatam illam crucem, quæ regni nostri insigne est, gentem hungaram libentius triplicare velle, quam in id consentire, ut beneficia vel prælaturæ ad jus coronæ spectantes per sedem apostolicam conferantur.

King. The Pope, Pius II. (Æneas Sylvius) succeeded for a long time in preventing the King from making war against the Emperor, but a war broke out at last. The Emperor could not withstand the onset of the Hungarian horsemen: Matthias conquered the majority of the Austrian cities (1472) and consented to a peace, which was broken by the Emperor as soon as he thought he could make resistance. Matthias renewed the attack in 1480, and in 1485 he besieged and conquered the city of Vienna.

In the second half of the reign of Matthias, Hungary was less frequently invaded by the Turks. The defeats which they suffered from the King's troops broke their spirit of enterprise, and when they persisted to attack the Hungarians, as, for instance, in 1479, they were severely punished by the King's generals, Bathory and Kinizsy, 30,000 Turks were slain in the battle of Kenyérmerö.

The greater order which Matthias introduced into the administration of finances, enabled him to devote part of his care and resources to the advancement of science. He filled his Court with learned men of all nations; he founded a University at Pressburg; and it was under his protection that the Bishops established Colleges at Waizen, Grosswardein, Erlau, and Gran. But the King's dearest treasure was his library, containing about 50,000 books and MSS., bound in gold, velvet and silk, and illustrated by the greatest artists of the time.

The love of pomp and splendour of the Magnates, whom the King instigated to extravagance, had a demoralising effect upon the Aristocracy, and by the establishment of a standing army the people became unaccustomed to the dangers and fatigues of war. The King's energetic and centralising policy prevented the further development of municipal institutions, and the germs which Sigismund had planted and frivolously neglected, could not prosper and rise under King Matthias.

That King died at Vienna in 1490, leaving no issue except an illegitimate son, John Corvin, who, though heir to all the virtues of his great father, was still utterly void of ambition. He laid no claim to the Crown, which could not have been placed on a worthier head.

The Hungarian Oligarchy, long tired of Matthias's severity and justice, received the news of his death with exultation. The Magnates of the Empire resolved to elect such a King only, whom they could always keep under their hands (*hujus crines continuo in manibus tenere possent*) and their choice fell upon Uladislas Jaghello, the second of that name in Hungary, the same who had followed George Podiebrad on the throne of Bohemia. Uladislas II. was good-natured, lavish of money, void of energy, an easy-going and easy-taking man, who cared little for State affairs, and who was wholly

engrossed with the pleasures and cares of his family and of hunting. He is but another instance in the long list of kings, who were respectable in private, but despicable in public life. At the commencement of his reign he was called upon to make war against the pretenders to the Crown, when John Corvin took the new King's part and advancing against Maximilian, the son of the Emperor Frederick, he defeated his army at Stuhlweissenburg. Albert of Poland, a brother of Uladislas, who likewise rose against the King of Bohemia and Hungary, was attacked by Zapolya, who defeated him in the battle of Kashau. The two pretenders were happy to come to terms with the King, who resigned the Austrian countries to Maximilian, whom he now designated as his heir in Hungary, if he should die without leaving issue. But the Diet of 1492 refused to sanction a treaty which jeopardized the independence of the country.

The reign of Uladislas (1490–1516) was a time of hopeless distress for Hungary. The King was unable to impose respect on the overbearing aristocracy, who oppressed the middle classes, and the authority of the Crown was ruined by awkward financial measures and by the pecuniary embarrassments of the Court. The predatory tribes of the Turks gained in boldness as they felt that the Hungarian forces were not led by a soldier and a hero. Still their invasions were successfully repulsed by John Corvin and by Zinizsy, the old companion in arms of the great Matthias; but when they and their generation of heroes drooped and died, there was no man left to uphold the ancient martial glory of Hungary. Even the gallant "Black Legion" was disbanded, for the men became mutinous when the King's prodigality made him unequal to the expense of their pay and maintenance.

The Magnates of the Empire were soon divided into two parties. The most influential among them were, Bakats, the Bishop of Erlau; the King's Chancellor and Zapolya, who, with his son John, the Woiwode of Transylvania, took the lead of the Opposition. The two Zapolyas attacked the King's prodigality and the mis-government of Bakats. They strove to form a strong party and to prepare for future contingencies.

In Uladislas' reign the Diets followed one another in quick succession, and each Diet limited the Royal Prerogatives and refused even those taxes, which were indispensable for the defence of the country. The Exchequer was a prey to both, friends and foes, and the King himself was at length reduced to severe distress and in want even of the commonest necessaries of life, especially after the death of his Queen, who had at least maintained something like order in his household. Uladislas became a prey to dull melancholy, and but one single care affected his mind, viz.; what he

should do to protect and establish the future career of his children. This end he hoped to gain by a connexion of his family with that of the Emperor Maximilian, and a treaty was concluded, according to which, the King's daughter was to be married to Archduke Ferdinand (the Emperor's grandson) while the King's son was to be united to Ferdinand's sister, Maria. By this arrangement, Maximilian hoped to gain the crown of Hungary, which had long been coveted by the Hapsburg family. But as early as 1505, the Magnates of the kingdom had, on the proposition of Zapolya, pledged their oaths that they would never elect a foreigner, who was ignorant of the language, customs, and laws of Hungary.

While intrigues were fomented on all sides; while Bakats exerted his influence in favour of Austria; while the King of Poland (a brother-in-law to John Zapolya) agitated for the benefit of his sisters' husband; the country was suddenly convulsed by an awful *Jaquerie*. Bakats, whom the Pope had appointed as his legate throughout the East of Europe, had already, as early as 1414, consented to preach a Crusade against the Turks. Countless crowds of peasants flocked to his standard and assumed the red Cross. The nobility, and especially the Magnates, were strangers to the movement—indeed, in some places, they showed themselves hostile to it, for the fields remained untilled and the peasants that had rallied round the Cross, had but scanty harvests to look forward to. Moreover, it was assigned, and with a good show of reason too, that Bakats intended to employ his Crusaders against the Aristocracy; and this suspicion gained still more ground, when the King confided the command of this army, not to one of the great chiefs of Hungary, but to George Dózsa, a Szekler of doubtful, if not mean, extraction. Dózsa had given some signal proofs of personal bravery in a battle against the Turks, but he had never been in command, and he hated the Aristocracy, for he considered that they had given him offence. When he found himself therefore placed at the head of an army, he led his forces not against the Turks, but against the landed proprietors. He told his people that the nobility must be annihilated; the Royal dignity was to be abolished; equal rights and equal duties were to be given and imposed on everybody. Hungary was large enough to keep all her children in plenty and ease. Such theories were highly palatable to the peasants, and acting up to them, they assassinated the landed proprietors, sacked the cities, and burned the castellated mansions of the Magnates. This was fearful, but still more fearful was the revenge of the nobility, when, after recovering from their first panic, they attacked and routed the peasant-forces at Szegedin. The nobility were, on this occasion, led by the Woiwode, John Zapolya. Dózsa, who became a prisoner to Zapolya, was placed on a throne of red hot iron

and crowned with a crown of the same metal; his captains too, were tortured and executed. And the Diet, which assembled after the insurrection, punished the peasantry, by condemning them to servitude, binding them to the glebe and depriving them of all political rights.

Uladislas II. died soon afterwards, after concluding a treaty of mutual succession with Maximilian. The Estates of the Kingdom declared that treaty to be null and void. All the splendour and glory of the Crown of Hungary had left it under the Government of Uladislas, and though in the south, the frontiers of the kingdom remained respected, and though Bosnia, Servia, Moldavia, and Wallachia still acknowledged the suzerainty of Hungary, the former strength of the country was crumbling into decay and prepared to fall at the first shock.

The power of the Oligarchy grew apace and gained in strength during the minority of King Louis II. Their party, under Zapolya, was opposed by the partisans of the Court and the Palatine Bathory. Their factious resistance and opposition were not likely to stem the tide of the dissolution of the Hungarian Empire. When the King at length seized the reins of Government, he evinced a morbid desire but wanted the strength to rule. He was extravgant and frivolous; he resigned a claim of forty thousand gold florins for the gift of a falcon; and as a natural consequence of his waste and thoughtlessness, he was frequently reduced to such severe distress that Burgio, the Pope's legate, states that he often was in want of a pair of boots (et rex non habet calceos). And when he was forced by an empty treasury or by the impending dangers of a Turkish invasion, to convoke the Diet, he met the remonstrances of his Estates and their complaints, that none of their resolutions were executed, by expressions of grief at the inauspicious character of circumstances, or by sacrificing a courtier to the public indignation; but he uniformly protested against the control of a Committee, respecting the administration of the finances. Louis II. was married to Maria, sister to the Emperor Charles V. Queen Maria was a woman of a masculine character, and by her education addicted to high and arbitrary principles of Government. She encouraged the King in his resistance against the demands of the Diet, and on one occasion she went to the length of seizing a pen, drawing a line through the resolution, authorizing a Committee to inquire into the application of the public money, and adding a marginal note: "Unus Rex, unus princeps," she returned the document to the Diet.

But a feud and a still more dangerous schism was at hand. The Middle Classes rose in opposition against the two rival factions of Bathory and Zapolya. They were disgusted with the oppression of the Magnates. They insisted on the expulsion of all foreigners from

the Court. They demanded the removal of the State Officers, who squandered the public money and ruined the country. They promised the King that they would rid him of the arrogant dominion of the Magnates, that they would strengthen his authority and take energetic measures against the Turks. But the King refused to countenance their movement. At the Diet of Hatvan (1525) he was indeed compelled to yield to them and to appoint their leader, Verbötzy, to the post of Palatine; but he was well pleased to see the success of the Court party, who managed to overthrow the Palatine Verbötzy, in spite of his endeavour to allay the enmities and conciliate the affection of the Magnates.

But while the Court-party was at war with the middle-classes, and while Zapolya and his followers retired from the contest, a storm was hovering from the South. Suleiman the Great planned an expedition against Hungary. The Pope had long been aware of the impending danger. He was more alive to it than the Hungarians, who, instead of preparing for the combat, amused themselves by making the King responsible for any unfortunate contingency, whilst he, in his turn, protested that, only the want of confidence of the Estates ought to bear the blame of any accident that might happen. The Pope had meanwhile sent a sum of money to Hungary for the purpose of assisting the Hungarian forces, and he had given his permission to the employment of Church-property for the defence of the country; but in spite of the fearful danger, the lower nobility refused to take the field, unless the King and the Magnates were assembled and in arms. Thus did they trifle away their time, and Suleiman had crossed the Danube and the Drave, before the Hungarian army was assembled. At length the King took the field, and encamped at Mohats with a small force of 20,000 men; but messengers had come from Szegedin to tell him that Zapolya was advancing to the rescue with 14,000 men, and he prayed that the King would not engage in a battle, until his force was in the field. A similar message was brought from Christoph Frangepani, who approached from Croatia, with 15,000 men. But the Court party would not condescend to owe the salvation of the country to the hated Zapolya, and they urged the King to attack the Turks. Tomory, the Archbishop of Kaloesa, who had formerly resigned his sword for a cowl, and who had sworn to doff his pallium for the sword, had been appointed Commander-in-Chief of the King's forces. Tomory was eager to begin the fight. Many of the ancient officers were aware that 25,000 men had no chance against the superior forces of the Turks, but they all, following the impulse of the careless haughtiness and martial resolution which characterize the Hungarians, joined their voices with the clamour of those who advised the King to attack the Turks. Only Francis Perenyi, the Bishop

of Grossvardein remarked, that "since Bishop Bradarish had been Ambassador at Rome, he thought the best plan would be to send him back to the Pope, to entreat his Holiness to canonize the 20,000 Hungarian martyrs, who were to lay down their lives for the cause of Christendom."

The Hungarian battle-line leant on the swamps of Mohats. Suleiman attacked them on the 29th of August, 1526. His forlorn hopes were driven back, and the Hungarians advancing, made an onset on the Sultan's artillery, which consisted of two hundred cannons. The fire of the Turks mowed them down by rank and file; but the files in the rear advanced with a fatal determination, and the combat came soon to a close, because none of the Hungarians were left to continue it. Tomory, Perenyi, and six Bishops, George, the brother of John Zapolya, twenty-eight bannerets, five hundred members of the aristocracy, and twenty-two thousand soldiers were killed in this most bloody battle. The King fled, but his horse fell in the rivulet of Csele, and Louis II. ended his inglorious life by being drowned when flying from the field of battle. None escaped but the Palatine Bathory, Peter Perenyi, Francis Batthyanyi, and the Bishop Bradarics with three thousand of the Pope's mercenaries.

Suleiman advanced to Buda without meeting with any resistance. He sacked that city, and devastated the districts on the other side of the Danube; but he returned to his Empire, carrying with him a fabulous amount of booty, and seventy thousand captives; and, although he did not extend his dominion across the Save and Drave, the power of the Hungarians was not the less effectually broken.

Third Period.

THE HUNGARIANS UNDER THE KINGS OF THE HOUSES OF HAPSBURG AND LORRAINE.

THE news of the defeat at Mohacs, and the death of the King, spread with the swiftness of lightning; and in the night following that bloody day, it reached the ears of the Queen Maria. She instantly fled from Buda to Pressburg, after first writing a letter to her brother Ferdinand, the Archduke of Austria, in which she informed him briefly and coldly of the defeat; but at the same time declaring her views as to the means by which Ferdinand might gain the throne. Maria—subsequently Stadtholder of the Netherlands—had never known any other feeling than that of ambition to witness the aggrandizement of her House.

When Suleiman quitted the country after his predatory incursion, both Zapolya and the Queen began their intrigues with a view to insure the election of the King, in accordance with their purposes. Zapolya for a moment endeavoured to reconcile their clashing interests, and offered his hand to the Queen; but the proud Princess of the House of Hapsburg rejected the offer. Zapolya thereupon summoned a Diet for the election of a King, and the estates of the realm assembled on the 9th of November at Fejèrvàr (Stuhlweissenberg, Alba Regalis), where Zapolya interred the body of King Louis, which he had diligently sought and found, with becoming honours. Maria had for two full months taken no step to this end; she was too much engaged in her brother's interests, who on the 23d of October, had succeeded to the throne of Bohemia, which had likewise become vacant upon the death of Louis, and was now endeavouring to gain the crown of St. Stephen. The Diet unanimously elected John Zapolya King, who received the unqualified adhesion of the lower nobles and the people, whilst the high oligarchs despised him.

The powerful aristocrat who had so often defied the Kings, became a feeble monarch, deficient in energy and determination. His

friends counselled him without delay to disperse the partizans of Ferdinand by force of arms, to invade Austria, and at the head of the Hungarian army to win by the sword the recognition of his rival at the gates of Vienna. But Zapolya answered, that he desired no shedding of blood, and that he commended his just cause to Providence. Meanwhile the Queen and the Palatine Bathory, had also obtained the promise of the support of the Magnates of the Kingdom; and as soon as Ferdinand had tendered his promise in writing, that he would preserve inviolate all the rights and liberties of Hungary, even should he be obliged to attain the throne by force of arms, they declared themselves in his favour, and elected him King on the 16th of December, 1526. The estates of Sclavonia paid homage to King John Zapolya on the 18th of December, those of Croatia on the 1st of January, 1527, to King Ferdinand. Civil war was inevitable. But instead of cutting off at a blow Ferdinand's partizans, who were all in Western Hungary and the frontiers of the country, Zapolya endeavoured to negotiate a peace. Ferdinand, who always considered that to gain time was the greatest gain, never rejected any offer of mediation; but as soon as he was sufficiently strong, he broke off the negotiations, hastened to Hungary with his army, surprised Zapolya, who during the negotiations for peace had neglected to make preparations for war, and defeated him. Zapolya fled into Transylvania; the greater part of the Hungarians deserted him, and joined Ferdinand, who on the 3d of November, 1527, took the oath to the Constitution of Hungary, and was solemnly crowned. But Ferdinand now, instead of concluding peace with Zapolya, proscribed him and Verböczy, together with all their adherents.

Zapolya applied for aid to the Sultan. Driven to extremities, he could only look for deliverance to Constantinople; but in doing so he sacrificed the honour of the country, by declaring his willingness to receive the crown of Hungary in fief from the Sultan. This offer would have assuredly estranged from him the hearts of all his adherents, who prized so highly the independence of their country. But Ferdinand was in this respect not more conscientious; it is true that he sent ambassadors to Constantinople, who at first maintained a lofty and dignified tone; but when the fortune of war decided against Ferdinand, he was instantly ready to promise a yearly tribute to the Sultan, nay even to the proud Grand Vizir, the Albanese renegade, Ibrahim.

Suleiman entered Hungary in 1529: his army met with no resistance. Ferdinand had indeed promised that he would protect his new kingdom against the Turks, with the whole power of the German Empire; but the German Empire sent no army, and the King mistrusted the Hungarians, and purposely neglected to con-

centrate and organize the power of Hungary. The Sultan easily reduced Buda (Ofen) and Visegrád, where the Hungarian crown fell into his hands; Comorn and Raab were abandoned by the German garrisons. In September, Suleiman was under the walls of Vienna; but the city offered a stout resistance, under the command of the brave Count Salm. When winter approached, the Sultan raised the siege, delivered over Hungary to Zapolya, and retired within his own dominions.

Scarcely were the Turks gone, when Ferdinand again invaded Hungary, and continued to war against John Zapolya. Distrustful as he was, he never committed the chief command of his troops to an Hungarian, and sought to garrison all the fortresses with German troops. These Germans had neither any knowledge of, nor any affection for Hungary: they ran riot as in an enemy's country; but Ferdinand's generals were either cowards and traitors, like Hardek, Kaczianer, Roggendorf, Lascano, Teufel; or bad dilatory commanders, like Joachim von Brandenburg; or condottieri who fought bravely, but at the same time pillaged the country, like Castaldo and Schwendi. When Zapolya was again hard pressed, Suleiman a second time entered Hungary, in 1532. The object of this invasion was again Austria; but the little town of Güns, defended by the Croat Jurissich, and a garrison of seven hundred Hungarians, resisted the Sultan's army for some time; every attempt to storm the place was defeated by these heroes. Jurissich was resolved to hold out to the last; but after having repulsed a general assault, there being no longer any chance of safety, as the walls were already tottering, the Sultan, who honoured his bravery, summoned him to raise a Turkish flag for one hour, offering to be satisfied with this homage. The Turks, thereupon, laid waste Austria and Styria, and again retired into their Empire. Ferdinand, after many fruitless negotiations, consented at last to the Peace of Grosswardein, in 1538. The *status quo* formed the basis of this peace; John was acknowledged lawful King in the East, Ferdinand in the West; and the two Kings bound themselves to recognize the acts of their respective governments. After the death of John, the kingdom was to fall to Ferdinand; but in case John should leave behind him a son, the latter was to marry an Archduchess, and come into undisturbed possession of his father's immense landed property as Duke of Zipsen.

King John died in 1540, leaving behind him a child in the cradle, Duke John Sigismund; he committed the guardianship to the monk George Utissenich, also named Martinuzzi, and the warrior Peter Petrovich. Martinuzzi was a statesman of the first rank, skilful, brave, cunning, and ambitious; Petrovich was a gallant soldier. They resolved to send an embassy to the Sultan—from whom the

Peace of Grosswardein had been kept secret—with presents, and the request that he would confirm the son of King John in possession of Hungary. Ferdinand had constantly neglected to take any measures for the defence of Hungary, and he was wholly unable to resist the Turks, who, as soon as the East of Hungary should be delivered up to Ferdinand, would assuredly have invaded the country. Suleiman confirmed John Sigismund as Lord of Hungary. Ferdinand saw that the Peace of Grosswardein was not adhered to, and consequently in 1540 he ordered Ofen (Buda) to be attacked. His General Roggendorf was easily repulsed by the Hungarians, but Suleiman also appeared for the fourth time in Hungary, and left Turkish garrisons in Ofen and other Hungarian fortresses, alleging that John Sigismund was too weak to defend them. This was the beginning of the Turkish rule in Hungary.

Isabella, the mother of John Sigismund, who was in his minority, very soon felt that, hemmed in between Ferdinand and Suleiman, Transylvania could not maintain its independence. She felt her dependence on Martinuzzi, and therefore opened negotiations for peace with Austria, which were at length concluded in 1551. Isabella, in consideration of an indemnification, resigned Transylvania and the eastern part of Hungary to Ferdinand. Petrovich unwillingly delivered up the fortresses of Temesvar, Lippa, and Lugos, to the brave Losonczy the King's General; for he knew that soon they would be no longer as heretofore under the nominal, but under the direct rule of the Turks: he knew the negligence of Ferdinand, and openly said, that he would be hostler to any one who held these fortresses for only three years against the Turks.

Martinuzzi, on the other hand, who had been nominated Archbishop of Gran and Voivoda of Transylvania, and had also received a Cardinal's hat through the King, continued his secret negotiations with the Turks; conscious of his genius, he aimed at being an independent Prince of Transylvania. Before this time, under King John, the Italian Gritti had entertained the same project, but before he could accomplish it he was murdered by some of the adherents of the Austrian party. Martinuzzi likewise shared the same fate: with the consent of Ferdinand, Castaldo, Ferdinand's General, had him assassinated.

Petrovich's anticipation was soon realized. In 1552, Suleiman attacked Ferdinand's newly acquired possession, the latter having taken no measures for its defence. Losonczy was besieged in Temesvar; his heroic wife led an army to his relief against the camp of the Turks, but was defeated. A revolt of the German garrison at length compelled the hero to surrender the fortress, on terms of free exit. The Vizirs accompanied him with a guard of honour through the Turkish camp; but the Janissaries began to drag from

their horses the soldiers of the garrison, one by one, and take them prisoners.

Losonczy remained silent for a time; but when his esquire, young Tomory, who carried his gilded armour, was dragged from his horse at his very side, he turned to the Spaniard Perez, and said, "This is Turkish faith—we fall, but not unavenged." He cut down the Turk who took the lad prisoner: a conflict ensued, and the garrison were slain to the last man. Meanwhile, Szondi was besieged in the rock-fortress of Dregel by Ali Pasha. When no hope of relief longer remained, the hero sent his two little sons clad in scarlet, with presents to the Pasha, and with the request that he would bring them up as brave warriors. But Szondi himself burned all his treasures in the court-yard of the castle, and at the head of the garrison made a desperate sally, in which, after making a bloody slaughter of the Turks, they were all slain. Dobó and Bornemisza were more fortunate in Erlau; with hastily assembled troops they withstood in this fortress the repeated assaults of the whole Turkish army. Women and old men shared in the defence, and the Turks were obliged to raise the siege. But all this heroism was in vain. Ferdinand, who constantly mistrusted the Hungarians, and never brought his Germans and Walloons into the country at the right time, either could not or would not unite the forces that were in Hungary: they were dispersed, and the nation bled freely; for in spite of the heroic sacrifice of individuals, the Sultan perpetually increased his aggressions. Ferdinand died in 1564, after again delivering up Transylvania (which he could not hold) to John Sigismund.

Maximilian, the son of Ferdinand I., is represented in history as a noble, tolerant, and just Prince; but the Hapsburg policy was so uniform and consistent towards Hungary, that even the noble nature of Maximilian belied itself. He gave the same assurances as his father had given, but he kept them with no better faith; he mistrusted the Hungarians, and he appointed foreign commanders to every post; his mercenary troops devastated the country, and the laws of Hungary were continually violated. Maximilian had even the boldness to send his demands to the Diet in the German language. He was of course only feebly supported by the country; he soon fell into strife with John Sigismund, but could not conquer him, and was obliged to conclude a peace. The Turks again made predatory incursions into Hungary. Suleiman's last campaign against the Hungarians in the year 1566, might have been nearly fatal to Austria; for the Emperor was again, as usual, unprepared, when the Sultan with an immense army crossed the Danube, but Nicolas Zrinyi arrested the advance of the Turks in Szigeth. The Sultan besieged him here for a whole month; and when Zrinyi saw there was no longer any hope, he set fire to the fortress, threw himself

with his garrison upon the Turkish camp, and closed with the enemy in a hand-to-hand conflict. The siege of Szigeth cost the Turks twenty thousand men, and the emperor gained time to collect an army; but when he heard that Suleiman the Great had died before Szigeth, and the Turkish army was retiring, he likewise disbanded his forces.

John Sigismund died in Transylvania in 1571, the last Prince of the House of the Zapolyas. He had not distinguished himself as a sovereign, and his name is memorable in history only from his having so early as the sixteenth century practised religious toleration to its fullest extent, and granted to the Unitarians in Transylvania perfect tolerance and equal rights with all the other classes of Christians. Socinus lived in his court. His successor was Stephen Bathory, the greatest hero and statesman of his time, whom on this account the Poles elected as their King, when Henry of Anjou fled from Warsaw in 1574, leaving the throne vacant. Maximilian had used every endeavour to bring Poland under the dominion of his House, but his efforts were vain; he died soon after without having done anything for Hungary.

With Maximilian's successor, Rudolph, begins a new phase of Hungarian history. In the battles with the Turks, and against the Princes of Transylvania, who were nominally the vassals of Turkey, a higher and religious was now added to the political interest. Even before the battle of Mohács, Luther had gained many adherents in Hungary, notwithstanding that in 1523 a law was promulgated, commanding with the utmost brevity, "Lutherani comburantur." In consequence of the death of most of the Bishops in battle, and amid the confusion caused by the double election of a King, the Reformation had gained ground. Ferdinand was no persecutor, and Maximilian even favoured the new doctrines. The greater part of the aristocracy, the Sclavonians in the northern counties, the Germans in the towns of Hungary and in the Saxonland of Transylvania, and the Hungarians in the plains, adopted the new doctrines: among the Wallachs, the Ruthenians, the Serbs in Lower Hungary, and the Croats, alone the Reformation found no adherents. More than two-thirds, however, of the country had abandoned the Romish Church. With Rudolph now begins a succession of fanatical rulers, whose chief aim and purpose in life, was on the one hand the extirpation of Protestantism, and on the other, the foundation of absolutism. The wars were henceforth wars of religion and liberty; the Princes of Transylvania were the natural champions of religious freedom and constitutional government; whilst the governmental policy of the Hapsburgs was expressed by one of their ministers in these words: "Faciam Hungariam prius mendicam, dein Germanam, postea Catholicam."

The history of Hungary, from 1576 to 1604, has nothing of the grandeur of former epochs. In Transylvania various Princes of the House of Báthory ruled, continually wavering between the Sultan and the Emperor, engaged in petty wars with both, and troubled by rebellions and conspiracies, until at length Sigmund Báthory surrendered the Principality to Rudolph, in which Basta, the general of the Emperor, behaved as in an enemy's country. Rudolph waged a war against the Turks, which lasted fifteen years: the latter continually pressed onward more and more, and the country was exhausted, as the Emperor mistrusted the Hungarians, and relied only on Germans and Walloons.

Illésházy, who was subsequently Palatine, gives in his diary the following description of the army:—"Archduke Matthias was the commanding General; such a good-natured man, that he punished no one in the camp, and did justice to no one; in consequence there were innumerable rows and disturbances: not a day passed that some Hungarian was not slain. The camp was so full of immorality and drinking, of banqueting and trading, and courtly splendour, that it was an abomination not only in the sight of God, but even before sinful men. The chiefs sat down to table at ten o'clock, and rose drunk at about four or five: one went to sleep, another to take a stroll. The Archduke did not go out for weeks together; but the soldiers ravaged all the towns and villages for twenty or twenty-five miles around; they drove off the cattle and the horses of the peasants without paying for them, and cut down the crops for fodder for their horses. But the military councillor of war is with the Archduke, David Ungund, the drunkard, and with him two German Captains, who were never in battle, and have never seen a Turk; and Ferdinandus Count of Hardekk, the Commander of Raab."

From such a state of military affairs, no brilliant result could of course be hoped for. Raab fell; Erlau was taken by the Turks, and even the battle of Keresztes, after being won in 1595, was turned into a defeat by the insubordination which prevailed in the army. One brilliant action alone is noticeable in the course of this long war. Count Niklas Palffy and Adolf Schwarzenberg took Raab by storm in 1597, with only five thousand men.

But the political condition of the country was also deplorable. Rudolph remained in his castle at Prague, shut up in his astrological study, or surrounded by his collection of works of art: no Hungarian could come near him, nor did he himself ever go to Hungary. In the Diets which were frequently held under him, his government continually demanded new requisitions for the Turkish war, but the grievances of the country were unheeded. Rudolph refused to allow the election of a Palatine; all his Generals were Germans; the complaints against the oppressions which they exercised died away

unheard. The Protestants were at the same time systematically oppressed; the Jesuits, supported by the German Generals, converted the people by force; the churches were taken away from the Protestants, and the clergymen driven away.

At length, however, in 1604, the patience of the Hungarians was exhausted. The Diet had submitted twenty-one articles of law to Rudolph for his confirmation; but the latter of his own sovereign authority added a twenty-second, in which he confirmed all the former laws in favour of the Romish Church, forbade any discussion in the Diet upon religious matters, and ordered any one who should intrude such questions upon the Diet, to be punished as a pernicious reformer.

The violation of the Constitution excited the greatest indignation among all Hungarians, even those who were not Protestants. In Upper Hungary the taxes were instantly withheld. Stephen Bocskay, a distinguished soldier, placed himself at the head of the malcontents; whereupon Rudolph's Generals seized on Bocskay's castles: but he fled to the Haiduks, who instantly took up arms in the cause of religious freedom. The insurrection spread with the swiftness of lightning. Basta, the tyrannical Stadtholder of Transylvania was defeated: the whole country joined Bocskay; his cavalry swept through Moravia and Austria, up to the very walls of Vienna. In this perilous extremity, the Archduke Matthias, who conducted the affairs of government for Hungary, turned to Illésházy, whom Rudolph had outlawed, and who was awaiting the course of events at Cracow. The outlaw negotiated a peace between Rudolph and Bocskay, which was concluded in 1606, and went by the name of the Religious Peace of Vienna. Rudolph promised perfect religious freedom, and the strict maintenance of the Hungarian Constitution; he also acknowledged Bocskay as Prince of Transylvania, and Lord of a portion of Hungary. Bocskay hastened to conclude the peace, notwithstanding he perceived that some Jesuitical clauses would soon give rise to misunderstandings; but he felt that he was poisoned, and feared that after his approaching death, not even so much might be obtained as Rudolph now offered. By the plenipotentiaries of the Archduke Matthias, who had been recognized by Rudolph as Regent of Hungary, by those of Bocskay, and lastly of the Sultan, a peace was at the same time concluded at Zsitvatorok near Comorn —the first in which no tribute was demanded by the Turks, and which properly confirmed and recognized the division of Hungary between the King, the Prince of Transylvania, and the Sultan. Bocskay died soon after the conclusion of this peace; but Rudolph, who had grown daily more melancholy, and gave himself entirely up to his scientific pursuits and absolutist desires, was obliged by the alliance of the Archdukes Matthias, Maximilian, Ferdinand and

Ernst, together with the threatening position of Hungary, to resign Hungary, Austria and Moravia to Matthias.

Upon the abdication of Rudolph, the Hungarians readily elected his brother Matthias King, at the Diet of 1608, but not until he had solemnly sanctioned the conditions of the Peace of Vienna as the law of the realm, assented to some reforms in reference to the Diet, and prepared others. Illéshásy was chosen Palatine, and Hungary hoped that peace and the Constitution would be at length re-established, and that the country would recover from the wounds which a whole century of misgovernment and civil war had inflicted. The government of Matthias II. was comparatively a tranquil one: the King indeed evidently favoured the Roman Catholic Church, but the Protestants were not severely persecuted. Cardinal Francis Forgács, Archbishop of Gran, and his successor the famous Peter Pázman, both converts to Catholicism, waged a resolute war against the Protestants, but only with the weapons of persuasion and knowledge. They erected schools and higher educational institutions for the clergy; and at the same time by retaining their patriotic spirit, they succeeded in withdrawing many distinguished men from the Reformation. But just at the time when these remarkable men were labouring to strengthen Catholicism anew in Hungary, Gabriel Bethlen (Bethlen Gabor), the most distinguished defender of the Hungarian Protestants, ascended the throne in Transylvania.

Gabriel Báthory, a frivolous tyrant, who had soon rendered himself hated in Transylvania, could not longer remain in that country; his friends forsook him, and the Turks supported Gabriel Bethlen against him. Báthory was slain in 1613, and Bethlen was also recognised as Prince by Matthias, although the Viennese councillors of the King had advised war.

Matthias had still a great task to fulfil, that of securing the succession to the throne for the Archduke Ferdinand, of the Styrian line; in this matter he experienced no opposition from the Diet. Ferdinand was elected King in 1618, and was crowned as soon as the Constitution appeared to be secured, by the election of a Palatine, and by the guarantee of fresh promises to hold the past inviolate.

Even before the death of Matthias, Ferdinand II. interfered in the Government; the prudent compliance which Cardinal Klesel, the friend and councillor of the Emperor, had uniformly recommended as the best policy, appeared to the new King treason against the interests of Catholicism. He had the Cardinal imprisoned, and instead of conciliatory proclamations, he sent troops against the Protestant Bohemians. Matthias saw with pain the first outbreak of the Thirty Years' War, and died in 1619, with the hopeless conviction, that his successor would destroy by inconsiderate severity all that he had with such pains erected. In Hungary, Matthias

had been the most popular of all the members of the House of Hapsburg,—the only one who had maintained an upright determination to fulfil his promises conscientiously.

Ferdinand II. the pupil and friend of the Jesuits, had in the year 1600 made a vow at Loretto, to restore the Romish Church to its ancient glory and power upon the ruins of Protestantism. To this object he subordinated every other purpose in life: with foreknowledge and intent he kindled the bloodiest of all religious wars; every means was in his sight justifiable to attain his purpose; cunning and cruelty, dissimulation and open force, the sword and the scaffold. His most faithful servant and councillor in Hungary was Peter Pázman, first a Jesuit and afterwards Archbishop of Gran—learned, adroit, eloquent, disinterested, the most dangerous enemy of the Protestants, but devoted to his native country, and more conscientious than his master on the throne, in the choice of the means by which he achieved his aims.

Niklas Eszterhazy soon joined Pázman, the grandson of an insignificant nobleman, but who soon distinguished himself by his talents, and rose step by step to the dignity of Palatine. He understood his countrymen perfectly; his judgment was cold and decisive; he loved his country, and regulated his passions; but he was especially the man of the moment, prompt to assist in escaping from every embarrassment. Selfish as he was, he never forgot the interests of his family, and amassed that immense property, by which his house was at a later period distinguished.

Opposed to these three champions of Catholicism, stood Gabriel Bethlen, Prince of Transylvania, as distinguished in the field as in the cabinet. A Hungarian like Pázman, a statesman like Eszterhazy, and a Jesuit like Ferdinand himself, he devoted his life and his talents to the noblest idea—the maintenance of political and religious freedom in Hungary. It was not Protestantism, but toleration, for which he struggled; he supported Catholic churches in Transylvania, and did not even expel the Jesuits from his principality, although he took the field against their intrigues in Hungary.

Even before the death of Matthias, Ferdinand came forward openly against the Protestants; but his ordinances everywhere aroused rebellion. Count Thurn surprised him at the head of the Confederate Protestant Estates of Austria, Moravia and Bohemia, in the palace in Vienna, and was on the point of confining him prisoner in a convent, when the Dampierre regiment of cavalry, joined by the students and citizens of Vienna, rescued him and dispersed the insurgents. Ferdinand suppressed the Austrians, and after a short campaign, in the battle of the White Mountain, defeated the Bohemians, in 1620, who had declared him to have

forfeited the throne. After the victory, the work of the executioner commenced; twenty-eight of the most distinguished Bohemians were publicly decapitated; thousands were thrown into prison; the property of the Bohemian aristocracy was confiscated, and distributed among the officers and favourites of the Emperor; the constitution of Bohemia was abrogated, and Protestantism suppressed.

In Hungary, the plans of Ferdinand were defeated by the genius of Bethlen Gabor. Here likewise the Protestants rose, when Ferdinand, against religious liberty, began to circumscribe the Vienna Peace. The arms of Bethlen were victorious: the prince was ever ready for war, but not less inclined to peace. Bethlen was elected King of Hungary at Neusohl, in 1620; but he received this act of the Diet only as a homage rendered to his efforts by the Hungarians, and would not be crowned, although the crown and three-fourths of the country were in his power. Ferdinand, in spite of his vow at Loretto, was compelled in 1621, to conclude a peace at Nikolsburg, which was ratified as the law of the land in 1622. The Peace of Vienna and Religious Freedom were again confirmed, and a part of Hungary was ceded to Bethlen. But as Ferdinand, taking advantage of the fortune of war in Germany, neglected to observe the articles of the Peace, Bethlen rose a second and third time, and by his skilful conduct of the war, won in Gyarmath and Pressburg new conditions of peace. In these wars, in which he never lost a battle in person, he seldom resorted to the assistance of the Turks; and after having concluded a peace, he also mediated the same continually between the Emperor and the Sultan. It appears too that he had formed the plan of uniting Moldavia, Wallachia, Transylvania, and Eastern Hungary in one kingdom; but death overtook him in 1629, and interrupted his efforts, by which Transylvania was raised up anew.

Bethlen's widow, Catharina, Princess of Brandenburg, had been secretly converted by the Jesuits to the Romish Church, and entered upon negotiations with Ferdinand to deliver up Transylvania to him: but upon the discovery of her intrigues, the rich and avaricious George Rákoczy was elected Prince of Transylvania, who soon entered into an alliance as a Protestant Prince with Gustavus-Adolphus, King of Sweden, the champion of Protestantism. Ferdinand was obliged in 1633 to ratify the former articles of peace, and to recognize Rákoczy as Prince of Transylvania. In Hungary, however, Ferdinand's decree, by which the exports of the country into Austria were subjected to high duties, created great dissatisfaction; and as the Emperor was seeking during his own life to secure the succession to the throne for his son, afterwards Ferdinand III., he could not come forward here so openly against the Protestants, as he did in Bohemia and Austria. Ferdinand III. was at length

elected and crowned King of Hungary in 1636; the old King died a few months afterwards, and his wise councillor Peter Pázman did not long survive him.

Ferdinand III. was actuated by the same principles as had involved his father in the interminable religious war; but he was more moderate, and not so obstinate. What Pázman had been to Ferdinand II. the Palatine Niklas Eszterházy was to Ferdinand III. He exhorted him frequently to adhere to his promises, to respect the Hungarian Constitution, and not by continual evasions to arouse the mistrust of the country. Peace could only be maintained by yielding; for Rákoczy, who even in Transylvania was rendered unpopular by his avarice and mistrustful character, was only dangerous in Hungary when the just grievances, which were submitted to the Diet, remained unheeded. But Eszterházy's voice could not prevail; Rákoczy invaded Hungary in 1644; the war lasted until 1645, characterized more by skilful marches of the troops, than by sanguinary battles; until at length Ferdinand, who also earnestly desired to bring the war in Germany to a close, yielded in Hungary, and again concluded a peace with Rákoczy at Linz, in which the conditions of the Peace of Vienna and Mikolsburg, were not only ratified, but extended.

The Palatine Niklas Eszterházy, who had especially contributed to the conclusion of this peace, died soon afterwards. But the fulfilment of the conditions met with many obstacles; the churches which had been taken from the Protestants were not all given back; and even those especially indicated by the Diet of 1647, which ratified the peace, could in many cases only be restored to the lawful proprietors by military force. The Catholic party, which had hitherto always been in the minority, began to obtain a majority in the Diet, and the discussions on religious matters became consequently more vehement, and the encroachments of the Romish Church more frequent; nevertheless peace was tolerably maintained. Nor did any regular war break out, even with the Turks; from time to time incursions into the neighbouring frontiers occurred, but the peace was not interrupted.

Like his predecessor, Ferdinand III. endeavoured to settle the succession to the throne during his lifetime. The Hungarians fulfilled his wishes: first the Emperor's son, Ferdinand IV., and upon his death soon afterwards, Leopold I. were in turn chosen King. Ferdinand himself died in 1657: his monument is the Peace of Westphalia, and that of Linz, by which he terminated the long war in Germany and Hungary.

The Government of Leopold I. continued for nearly half a century, from 1657 to 1705, a period of terror and oppression to Hungary. And yet Leopold's personal character was not dissimilar from

that of his ancestors; proud, narrow-minded, upright in private life, but in public life continually breaking every pledge and promise, like all the sovereigns of his House who had ruled Hungary before him. He was far less blood-thirsty than the fanatical Jesuit Ferdinand II.; but under no King of Hungary in ancient times—not even under Sigismund—were so many scaffolds erected, so many distinguished Houses spoiled of their possessions, so many patriots banished as under Leopold; and all this because he had no Pázman, no Niklas Eszterházy at his side, who might have taught him to respect covenants, and to observe the oath which he had sworn to the Constitution. His only advisers were Germans and Bohemians —the Porzias, the Lobkoviczes, the Hochers, the Kollonics, enemies of the Hungarians and of all constitutional freedom. It is true that at a later period Paul Eszterházy, a Hungarian, the first Prince of that name, enjoyed the confidence of the Emperor, but only because he stifled every patriotic feeling within him, and became a willing tool of court intrigue.

The patriots, on the other hand, Nicholas Zrinyi, the hero of Zerinvar, Francis Wesselenyi, the Palatine, George Szelepcsényi, Archbishop of Gran, Paul Szechenyi, the Archbishop of Kalocsa, were unheeded, estranged from the court, and neglected; whilst the fiery and violent characters, Peter Zrinyi, Francis Nadasdy, Francis Frangipan, Emrich Tökölyi, and Francis Rákóczy, were systematically, as it were, goaded on to rebellion. Leopold's generals, whom he employed to suppress these continual risings, and to enslave Hungary, such as Armpringen, Kobb, Caraffa, Spankau, and Heister, marked their career only by inhuman butcheries—their attribute was not the sword of battle, but the sword of the executioner. On the other hand, the Emperor had the good fortune, in his war against the Turks, to have three great generals, one after another, who, by their humanity, won the hearts of the Hungarians, Duke Charles of Lorraine, the Margrave Ludwig of Baden, and Prince Eugene of Savoy. All the lustre which brightens the tragical government of Leopold emanates from these three names.

When Leopold ascended the throne, George II. Rákóczy, Prince of Transylvania, who had just then mingled in Polish affairs, with the hope of ultimately attaining the crown of the Piasts, had espoused the party of the Swedish Carl Gustavus, against John Casimir, and supported him. Leopold considered that he must take advantage of this opportunity to attach Transylvania to his House, and aided the Polish King against George Rákóczy, whom the Sultan had also deposed from his principality, for having, as a vassal of Turkey, meddled in a foreign war without being authorized to do so.

Rákóczy hoped indeed to succeed in conciliating the Porte, and consented that first, his friend Rédey, and afterwards Barcsay,

should be chosen Prince, upon the latter engaging to resign his dignity as soon as George should regain the favour of the Sultan. But when Barcsay was acknowledged Prince, he began to strengthen himself in his dignity, and to persecute Rákóczy. Betrayed by his friends, attacked by the Turks, Rákóczy developed the whole energy of despair: he succeeded in inducing the estates of Transylvania to elect him Prince a second time; he assembled armies, defeated Barcsay, and finally fell in a deadly struggle against the Turks, in 1660, at Klausenburg. After his death, Leopold seized Rákóczy's Hungarian castle; the Turks, on the other hand, took Grosswardein; in Transylvania, John Kemeny, Leopold's *protégé*, was elected Prince; whilst the Turks placed upon the throne of Transylvania, first, Barcsay, and afterwards Michael Apaffy, upon the former being defeated by Kemeny, and in his third attempt to win the principality by Turkish aid, being taken prisoner and executed. Leopold sent his General, Montecucculi, to the aid of Kemeny; but he wasted his time in marches and counter-marches, and forsook the Prince, who eventually fell in battle against the Turks in 1662. Transylvania was devastated in this war, and the peace, which had lasted, with slight interruptions, for more than half a century between the Emperor and the Sultan, was *de facto* broken; every one felt that the decisive struggle between the Cross and the Crescent was approaching. And yet, at this very time, Leopold alienated from himself the Protestants in Hungary, while the arrogance of his minister, Porzia, and his General, Montecucculi, offended the Catholic grandees of the realm. On the other hand, Prince Apaffy already sought the friendship of Leopold; and, notwithstanding that he remained the *protégé* and ally of the Turks, he began to form those relations with him, which eventually, after the death of the Prince, in 1691, caused Transylvania to submit to the dominion of Leopold.

The war with the Turks began in 1664. Niklas Zrinyi, equally great as hero, statesman, and poet, the grandson of the hero of Szigeth, attacked the Turks during the winter, and caused them much serious loss. But Montecucculi, the enemy of Zrinyi and the Hungarians, did not support him; he traversed the country with his army, until at length he gave the Grand Vizir a signal defeat at St. Gotthard, whereupon the German ambassador of the Emperor Reuminger, in an inconceivable manner, concluded an ignominious peace with the Turks. Leopold engaged to furnish a present to the Sultan of two hundred thousand florins, recognized the *status quo* as the basis of the peace, and promised to raze the fortress of Székelyhida.

The Hungarians were incensed at this peace, which was concluded without their assent; but they were still more exasperated by the extortions of Leopold's German mercenaries, "which so exhausted

the people, that even the hated Turkish yoke seemed to be more endurable than the oppression of the Germans." In addition to this, the commanders were foreigners, while the Hungarians were everywhere neglected, and excluded from the Government.

Niklas Zrinyi perished in a hunt; public opinion ascribed his death to assassination. The grandees of the kingdom, including Wesselenyi the Palatine, Nádasdy the Judex Curiæ, Peter Zrinyi Ban of Croatia and brother of Niklas, Francis Rákóczy son of Prince George, at length conspired, and determined, acting upon the spirit of the clause of the Bulla Aurea, to assemble an army, and backed by this, to require Leopold to fulfil his coronation oath, surround himself with Hungarian councillors, and send the foreign mercenaries out of the country. It was agreed that recourse should not be had to arms, unless Leopold should disregard these just demands of the people. But Wesselenyi, the skilful leader of this party, who considered only the interests of his country and of freedom, died suddenly. Zrinyi sought to employ the conspiracy for personal objects, and succeeded in engaging the powerful Counts Frangipani and Tattenbach in his plans; but they were all betrayed, taken prisoners, and, with a violation of all legal forms, executed at Wiener Neustadt in 1761. Nádasdy shared their fate, although no charge of high-treason could be brought against him; but he was the richest Count in Hungary, and this decided his fate. His possessions were confiscated, and given to Paul Eszterházy, the brother-in-law of the Count, as a reward of his loyalty. Rákóczy purchased immunity from all punishment with four hundred thousand florins. After the suppression of their first conspiracy, the work of the exceptional tribunals began: the prisons were filled, the German mercenaries under Spork plundered the possessions of the compromised parties, as well as of many others. Lobkovicz thought he could now carry out his plans with reference to the abrogation of the Hungarian Constitution; he distributed German troops over the country, and imposed heavy taxes, without summoning a Diet.

The counties complained of these arbitrary proceedings; and the Archbishops and Bishops Szelepcsényi, Széchenyi, Pálffy, and Gubasóczy, conjured Leopold to retract his commands, and to respect the Constitution, as the Hungarian nation prized their liberties more than life. But all remonstrance was vain; Lobkovicz persisted in his plan. An insurrection raised by the Protestants in Upper Hungary, who were now openly persecuted, was easily suppressed by German troops, and used as a pretext formally to abrogate the Hungarian Constitution in 1673, to appoint Gaspar Ampringen, Grand Master of the German Order, civil and military Governor of Hungary, and to institute everywhere Inquisition Courts against heretics, and Courts-martial. The German Generals now traversed the counties

in company with Jesuits, despoiled the Protestants of their churches, expelled the clergy, and caused those who offered any resistance to be hanged, drawn, and quartered, the forfeiture of their property being of course never forgotten. Three hundred Protestant clergymen and schoolmasters were banished without any legal proceedings; seventy of them would not yield to this exceptional process, and demanded the institution of regular proceedings, in order to prove their innocence; they were despatched unheard to Sicily, to the galleys, where they were subsequently freed by Admiral Ruyter.

The Protestants now fled in crowds to the Turks, who granted them protection, and practised reprisals against the German mercenaries, who fell into their hands. Prince Lobkovicz at this time unexpectedly fell from power; but Hocher, who succeeded to his place, prosecuted the projects of his predecessor all the more zealously as, himself a *roturier*, he hated the Hungarian aristocracy. This man, who could boast neither family nor fame, and had risen merely through obsequious flattery, respected neither freedom nor historical rights.

Leopold indeed made an attempt to conciliate Hungary; in 1676 he summoned the most influential Hungarians of his party to Vienna, with a view to effect an understanding respecting the pacification of the country; but these men recognized as the only means to effect this object—respect for the Constitution, the election of the Palatine, and the removal of the German troops. To this, however, Leopold would never consent; on the contrary, he gave the command of the troops in Upper Hungary, after the death of the humane Straffoldo, to the German tyrant Kobb. Another insurrection naturally followed. Emrich Tökölyi placed himself at the head of the malcontents, and made continual advances, in spite of the frequent vicissitudes in the fortune of war. He was ever ready to open negotiations of peace, which were frequently frustrated by Hocher: at length in 1681 there was truce. Leopold was obliged, at least in part, to yield: he again summoned a Diet, permitted the election of a Palatine, which fell upon Count Paul Eszterházy, and abolished the illegal taxes. He would, however, on no account allow the grievances of the Protestants to be the subject of debate in the Diet, and there was consequently no prospect of peace, especially as Leopold refused his assent to the resolutions of the Diet, that the crime of high-treason should be accurately defined, that the exceptional tribunals should be abolished, and that the possessions which had been confiscated by these courts should be restored to their owners.

The war began anew in 1683; the Turks advanced against Vienna, which was heroically defended by Günther von Starhemberg, and delivered by King Sobiesky and his Poles and Charles

of Lorraine, with German infantry and Hungarian Hussars, who defeated the Grand Vizir. An amnesty which Leopold granted, began to quiet the public mind. Tökölyi himself desired to enter into negotiations, but Leopold sent his proposals to the Turks, who dragged the unfortunate man as a traitor in chains to Adrianople. Still, Helena Zrinyi, the daughter of the beheaded Peter, who after the death of her first husband Francis Rákóczy, had married Count Tökölyi, defended the rock-fortress of Munkács for two years. When at length she surrendered the castle to the troops of Leopold, the latter shut her up in a nunnery. She, however, succeeded in making her escape in disguise, and joined her husband, who was kept prisoner in Turkey; but her children were detained, and educated under strict surveillance by the Jesuits.

After the relief of Vienna followed a brilliant succession of victories against the Turks. The armies of Leopold, in which, after the amnesty, many of Tökölyi's former officers served, stormed the fortress of Buda in 1686, under Charles of Lorraine; totally defeated the Turks at Mohács in the following year, captured Esseg and Peterwardein, and went to Transylvania, where Prince Apaffy, under the protection of Leopold, maintained the shadow of a government from this time until his death. But the glory which these victories shed upon the government of Leopold, was darkened by the barbarity with which the Imperial General Caraffa in Eperies, treated the principal Protestants in Upper Hungary, condemning them to be tried by exceptional tribunals, and to be put to death with the most horrible tortures. The brave Ludwig, Margrave of Baden, one of the heroes in the Turkish war, at length interceded for these persecuted people, and Leopold closed the bloody Tribunal of Eperies, which is famed in history under the name of *"Laniena Eperjessiensis."*

Leopold at length saw that this exceptional state of affairs in Hungary could not continue, and he now sought to attain his ends by legal means. In 1687 he summoned a Diet, the principal task of which was to abrogate the right of armed resistance in the clause of the Bulla Aurea, to abolish the right of electing a King, and to settle the succession to the throne on the male line of the House of Hapsburg, according to the law of primogeniture. The Diet accepted the royal propositions; whereupon Leopold granted a full amnesty, from which Tökölyi was alone excepted, and conceded the right to the Magnates of instituting the succession of primogeniture. The Palatine Count Paul Eszterházy, who contributed greatly to these measures, was nominated Prince, and Joseph the son of Leopold was crowned as the first hereditary King; a reconciliation was re-established between the Court and the Hungarians. Nevertheless this was not complete; the religious grievances of the Protestants

increased daily, and Leopold would not abandon his system of persecution against them. His Generals meanwhile gained new and brilliant victories; the Margrave of Baden advanced up to the limits of Albania; Transylvania, after the death of Apaffy, yielded homage to Leopold, upon his promising to maintain the Constitution; and Prince Eugene of Savoy, the valiant hero and friend of the Hungarians, annihilated at Zentha in 1697 the army of the Grand Vizir. But in order to achieve this victory, he had acted contrary to the command of the council of war in Vienna; and he was therefore obliged to repair to Vienna, to justify himself. When called upon to deliver up his sword, he did so with these words, "It is still red with the enemy's blood." But, however pedantically Leopold adhered to forms, it was too repugnant a measure, even to his prejudices, that the greatest General of his time should be brought to account *for a victory:* he invested the Prince anew with the chief command. By the mediation of England and Holland, the Peace of Carlowicz was now concluded with the Sultan, in which the Turks renounced all dominion in Hungary and Transylvania, and only retained the so-named Banat.

Encouraged by the brilliant issue of the war, the absolutist court-party resumed their plans with regard to Hungary; the Constitution was repeatedly violated, no Diet was assembled, new taxes were imposed, the country was inundated with German troops, and the Protestants were incessantly persecuted. The people were ripe for insurrection; a leader only was wanting—it was the false policy of Leopold himself, that placed one at the head of the malcontents. Francis II., Rákóczy, the step-son of Tökölyi, grandson of the beheaded Peter Zrinyi, and great-grandson of the Prince George I. Rákóczy, who had concluded the Peace of Linz, resided at Vienna, dressed in the German fashion, and kept aloof from the Hungarians. He was surrounded by traitors, who took advantage of every accidental word, every wish, every complaint he uttered at his unhappy position, to bring suspicion upon him; he was purposely irritated, his letters were intercepted, and when it was thought that sufficient facts against him were collected, he was arraigned before a commission as guilty of high-treason. After remaining six months in prison, he succeeded in effecting his escape: persecution had made him a rebel against his will. When in 1703 he first raised the standard of rebellion, this movement was despised at Vienna; the Hungarians were incessantly oppressed. Alexander Károlyi, who had gained some advantage over Rákóczy, was badly treated, because he insisted upon the Emperor's respecting the Constitution, and he was eventually placed under arrest at Karschau. He escaped, and joined Rákóczy. The whole of Upper Hungary rose; a part of Transylvania declared for Rákóczy, who although a Catholic,

fought like Bethlen Gabor in the cause of religious and political liberty. Leopold, taken by surprise, sought to open negotiations: the Archbishop of Kalocsa, Paul Széchenyi, well known as a liberal-minded patriot, was selected for this purpose, but only until General Heister with his plundering German mercenaries entered the country. The frightful extortions of these hordes alienated the Hungarians still more; in spite of the advantages which Heister had obtained, Károlyi's hussars advanced up to the walls of Vienna. Leopold was again obliged to treat for peace, and again he promised to respect the constitution; but he was no longer believed. He died in 1705, and the curse of the Hungarians followed him to the grave: he had ruled forty-eight years, and yet had not attained his object—the Hungarian Constitution survived him.

Joseph I., the son and successor of Leopold, was a noble prince, who endeavoured with sincerity and earnestness to repair the faults of his father; no sooner had he ascended the throne than he proclaimed an amnesty, recalled the proud and cruel Heister, and sent a proclamation to the insurgents, which bore the full stamp of his amiable character. Rákóczy, an equally noble and high-minded man as Joseph, was also desirous of peace; but he considered himself only as the head of the confederate Hungarians; and the latter, who had been so often and so cruelly deceived by the House of Hapsburg, would no longer listen to any terms of accommodation. Counts Alexander Károlyi, Daniel and Antony Eszterházy, Simon Forgách, and Niklas Bercsenyi, persuaded him to enter into their views. Joseph now accepted the mediation of England and Holland which had been offered previously; in 1708 he assembled a Diet at Pressburg, and was ready to conclude an honourable peace. The negotiations failed chiefly from this cause, that Rákóczy's party demanded independence, the free election of the Prince for Transylvania, and the guarantee of the European Powers for the liberties of Hungary. The war was therefore continued; Rákóczy suffered several defeats in 1709, and Count John Pálffy, the patriotic Ban of Croatia, renewed the offers of peace on the part of Joseph. Rákóczy did not accept these, but his general Károlyi did, and a peace was concluded in 1711 at Szathmár, with the co-operation of the ambassadors of England and Holland. The conditions were a general amnesty, even for Rákóczy (provided within three weeks he, either personally or by proxy, tendered the oath of allegiance),—the strict maintenance of the laws affecting religion and the Hungarian and Transylvanian Constitution,—and the restoration of the confiscated estates.

Rákóczy did not fail to recognize the magnanimity of Joseph, who as a conqueror concluded a peace so advantageous for the vanquished; nevertheless he declined to accept the conditions offered: accom-

panied by a few friends, he repaired first to France, and afterwards to Turkey, where he lived at Rodosto until 1735, in the enjoyment of princely honour. Joseph himself did not live to see the conclusion of the peace; he died in 1711. His noble nature and his humane policy were not inherited by his brother, who reigned in Hungary as Charles III., and as Emperor under the title of Charles VI. The latter indeed confirmed the peace of Szathmár, but Leopold's desire of absolutism continually rose within him. As, however, he had no son, and desired to transfer the crown to his daughter, Maria Theresia, the good-will of the Hungarian nation was too important to allow him to follow the counsels of his Vienna Ministry, and to violate the Constitution of Hungary.

The Constitution of Hungary was modified in an important manner by the three Diets which were held during his government. In the warlike period of the last two centuries no organic laws, with the exception of the laws affecting religion, had been introduced; now when peace was concluded, the institutions of the country had to be adapted to the new times. The changes were effected in the spirit of the eighteenth century. In the first place, the rights and liberties of Hungary were ratified anew, and boards were instituted, in the place of the independent dignitaries of state, who now presided over these boards. The Hungarian Board of Chancery was established in Vienna, since it was regarded as a *fait accompli* that the monarch, in spite of all his promises, should not reside in Hungary. In the country the *Consilium Locumtenentiale Hungaricum* was instituted, which was to carry on the government: four district courts in Hungary, and one in Croatia, were in future to decide the most important civil causes: the Royal Table in Hungary, and the Banal Table in Croatia, were appointed courts of appeal for civil and criminal cases, which were invested with the power not only of judging according to strict formal right, but also of taking cognizance of matters in equity. But the most important point was the introduction of a standing army, and with this naturally of a new system of taxation. The nobility refused direct taxation; the peasants had alone to bear the taxes, which could not be raised high, and the Court, to indemnify itself, recruited its revenues by an oppressive system of imposts between Hungary and the Austrian provinces, thereby stifling the industry of the former country. The injustice of the nobles met with its reward; from this time the country was isolated, and naturally remained behind in cultivation and industry.

In the year 1723 Charles attained in Hungary the object of his efforts, the acceptance of the so-called Pragmatic Sanction, or the recognition of the law of female inheritance, first for his line, then for that of his elder brother Joseph, and lastly for all the descendants

of Leopold I. The Hungarians accepted these royal proposals without opposition, but at the same time re-asserted of course the rights and liberties of Hungary. The crime of high-treason was now more accurately defined, and an end was put by law to arbitrary arrests upon suspicion of high-treason. On this occasion also the permission was granted to the untitled nobles to institute the succession of primogeniture; but neither these nor the Magnates, who had possessed this right ever since the time of Leopold I., made any frequent use of the privilege: equal partition was more adapted to the customs and usages of the nobles.

Whilst all these reforms were carried out in the interior, Charles, in the year 1716, renewed the war against the Turks. Prince Eugene, and his friend John Pálffy, defeated the latter at Peterwardein and Temesvar, and in the following year at Belgrade; he took Servia, and Wallachia Minor as far as the Aluta, and sought to unite again the ancient dependencies of the Hungarian kingdom with these. But the peace of Passarovicz (Posárovacz) arrested his victorious career. Charles was a dry, practical Prince, who had a horror of any grand projects; he contented himself with having completely driven the Turks out of Hungary, and with possessing in Belgrade the key of Turkey. But he effected much in the way of internal amelioration: he constructed roads to the coast of Hungary, repaired the harbour of Porto Re, and granted to Fiume the privileges of a free port: for, at that period, it was not yet known that a free port, where prohibitions exist, favours only smuggling, and not commerce, and forms but a very weak corrective for the prohibitive system. In the last few years of the government of Charles a war broke out anew with Turkey; but Charles had not the courage to entrust the command of the army to an Hungarian, although John Pálffy was generally considered the best general of the school of Prince Eugene. The incapacity of the Generals Königseck, Wallis, Suckow, and the diplomatist Neiperg, lost all the advantages which the sword of Eugene had won, and the peace of 1739 restored to the Turks Bosnia, Servia, with the important fortress of Belgrade, and Wallachia Minor.

Scarcely had Maria Theresia, the beautiful and clever daughter of Charles, ascended the throne in 1740, than all the continental powers of Europe stood forth against her, and contested her right of inheritance in the German provinces. The enthusiasm and devotion of the Hungarians saved her throne. The Queen, with true womanly tact, took advantage of the vanity of the nation by readily carrying out all their wishes. She appointed Hungarians to the most important posts, she never neglected to mention with gratitude the sacrifices and valour of the nation, and by manifesting confidence, she awakened a mutual confidence; thus during her government of thirty years she succeeded in those objects which the bloodthirsty tyranny of her grandfather

had been unable to effect. The constitutional instincts of the Hungarians were gradually lulled asleep; Protestantism was weakened by frequent conversions to the Romish Church, German manners were introduced into Hungary, the high aristocracy became fixedly attached to the court, and yet all the while Maria Theresia remained the universally loved and adored Queen of the Hungarians. For Diets she had no affection; under her the constitution of the country was maintained outside the walls of the Diet. She ordered the decrees of the highest courts to be collected and confirmed by a commission which consisted of the members of the highest court; and these judgments had thenceforth the validity of law. Further, when in 1764 the Diet refused to introduce a bill for the regulation of the relation of the peasant to the landowner, which should distinctly define his rights and duties, she introduced by an absolute decree her "Urbarium" into Hungary, which in spite of great faults and defects was yet very liberal for that period, and contained many elements of progress; indeed, on this account, notwithstanding the illegal mode of its introduction, it was repeatedly recognized provisionally by subsequent Diets. But Maria Theresia did not again summon any Diet, and the dignified office of the Palatine, the guardian of the constitution, was not again filled up; yet, notwithstanding all this, the nation retained their attachment to her. She was the most statesmanlike sovereign of the House of Hapsburg.

Her son and successor, the celebrated Emperor Joseph II., the first ruler of the House of Lorraine, had not these qualities. He was a perfect specimen of a German philosopher,—imperious, intolerant of opposition, respecting no historical rights, boldly overturning the ancient order of things, but not possessing the energy necessary to carry into effect his *doctrinaire* schemes, and consequently spreading confusion and disaffection throughout the land. He would have been an ornament to any professor's chair, but for this very reason he was not the man to occupy a throne. Nevertheless these very peculiarities gave him a great name among the unpractical German men of letters: they extolled him and admired his principles, without considering how petty and pernicious were the results of his government. As soon as Joseph, in 1770, attained to power upon the death of his mother, he quitted the path of government which Maria Theresia had so successfully pursued He refused to be crowned King in Hungary, or to recognize the constitution, and he introduced a German administration into the country. All the county congregations, all the courts and government colleges protested against this contempt of the fundamental pacts between the King and the Hungarians, and reminded him of the promises, the kingly oaths, and conditions of peace which his forefathers had made and observed. But Joseph had no inclination for historical

rights; his want of public morality had already shown itself in the partition of Poland. In vain therefore he proclaimed toleration, in vain he studied to govern according to the principles of the law of reason: his ordinances were not respected, because he had shaken the public rights to their foundation: the municipal authorities everywhere resisted him. To maintain his consistency, Joseph thought himself compelled to abolish the municipal institutions, and to introduce a system of centralization; but he found no tools ready to forward his aims, none of the upright patriots served him in Hungary: his officials were foreigners, or men of no note or authority, and the administration was despised. To this failure were added his reverses in the war with Turkey, which he had commenced in the most inconsiderate manner: an armed insurrection had broken out in Belgium, and one threatened likewise in Hungary. Joseph, broken down in spirit and bodily health, saw at length, after a government of ten years, that all his efforts were vain: upon his death-bed he retracted all the ordinances which he had issued, with the single exception of the Toleration Act. When the news of his death, in 1790, was spread abroad, bonfires and illuminations were kindled from one end of the country to the other: his officials were compelled to fly, and his ordinances (even the wisest, as, for instance, that relating to the measurement of the land) were burnt.

Joseph's brother, Leopold II., under whose wise administration Tuscany had risen to a flourishing state, succeeded the philosopher on the throne. The ideas of the French Revolution had excited people's minds throughout Europe, and were shaking thrones. But Leopold, in this crisis, attached the Hungarians more firmly than ever to his House. His first act of government was, to assemble the Diet, to recognize the Constitution of Hungary, the freedom of the country, and its independence of every other state or people, also to assign the right of introducing, abrogating, and interpreting the laws exclusively to the Diet and the assent of the King: the country was never to be governed by imperial patents; the King himself was not allowed to interfere in the administration of justice, nor, in cases of high-treason, to arraign the accused before any other court than the royal Table. Lastly, the edict of toleration issued by Joseph, which was indeed more limited than the Peace of Vienna, of Nikolsburg, and of Linz, which did not prevent Charles and Maria Theresia from enforcing frequent encroachments by the Romish Church, was made the law of the land. Leopold was received and crowned in Hungary with enthusiasm; his son Alexander was elected Palatine; everything augured a brilliant future, when he suddenly died, in 1792, probably by poison—the effect of female jealousy.

Francis I., the son of Leopold, was a selfish, narrow-minded, distrustful prince, an enemy of science and knowledge, and so vulgar

in his tastes that he would not even learn to speak correct German. But his very Viennese dialect, and his coarse sallies against education, made him popular with the lower classes in Vienna. In Hungary he could not gain the attachment which had followed his father. At the very beginning of his government, and after the mysterious death of his brother, the popular Palatine Alexander, who lost his life at an exhibition of fireworks in Luxemburg, numerous arrests took place. The Abbot Martinovics, Count Sigray, Messrs. Laczkovics, Szent Mariay, and Hajnóczy, were executed for high treason; others were sentenced to long imprisonment, and among them the most distinguished authors, upon the allegation that they had been implicated in a great conspiracy. The sentences alone were made known; the proceedings against these conspirators were carried on with locked doors, and regarded as State secrets.

As long as the French war lasted, Francis regularly held Diets in Hungary, which continually voted subsidies of men and money; but when the Estates, in 1807, raised their voice against the profligate administration of the finances, and declared in favour of the principles of free trade,—when they further, in 1812, refused to sanction by their assent the State bankruptcy of Austria,—they became troublesome to the Vienna Ministry; and after the formation of the Holy Alliance, Francis sought, like his ancestors, to get rid of the inconvenient Hungarian Constitution. He had soon forgotten the loyalty with which the Hungarians remained faithful to his throne, and how, when Napoleon, in 1809, promised them separation from Austria and a King for themselves, the Hungarians tore in pieces the proclamation, and did not listen to the French. In the first place, no more Diets were summoned; the regular elections in the counties were no longer permitted; the Lord-Lieutenants filled up the vacancies in the municipal administration by provisional nominations; in 1816, a voluntary subsidy was demanded from the nobles. The nobles in most of the county congregations refused this; but notwithstanding, at the close of the year 1822, when Constitutionalism was also attacked in Italy and Spain, the taxes were raised without the consent of the Diet, and a levy of recruits was ordered. All the counties protested; they saw clearly that it was not a question of taxation, but one of principle; and as the right of granting taxes alone constituted the guarantee of the constitution, this measure excited the bitterest indignation. Francis at first endeavoured to execute his will by force of arms, but his attempts were frustrated by the passive resistance of the counties. He therefore again summoned the Diet in 1825, reconfirmed the constitution, and thenceforth ruled with more careful respect for the legal forms: yet he remained hostile to any reform; in his mind the words progress, education, and revolution were completely synonymous. But the

spirit of the times will not admit of being resisted for any long continuance: in 1832, a reform Diet, the first for a century, began to revise the single parts of the Hungarian Constitution. The majority of the Deputies were liberal, but the majority of the magnates and the government obstinately opposed any amelioration of the condition of the peasants, and any change or reform in the feudal institutions. Francis died during the session of this Diet, unlamented by his people, to whom he bequeathed, as a remembrance of his government, a considerable state-debt, notwithstanding that Austria had made three national bankruptcies under the Emperor Francis, which were especially ruinous to the middle classes.

After 1835, the stubborn, narrow-minded Archduke Louis and the Doctrinaire of absolutism Prince Metternich, governed in the name of the imbecile Ferdinand. Louis believed that the art of ruling consisted in postponing the solution of every important question; and Metternich felt too well that he was not in a position to govern strong nations; his main object therefore was to keep down and repress the national development, or, where this was no longer possible, to incite one people against another, favouring and persecuting each party in turn, in order to destroy the strength of the people by continual party struggles.

The third statesman who exercised an important influence upon the government of Hungary, was the Palatine Archduke Joseph, a man of great cleverness, a penetrating understanding, and with remarkable power of dissimulation. He entertained a true love for Hungary, which he looked upon as his native country, and was the man of quiet progress, but not possessed of the energy to make his counsels listened to in Vienna.

The Diet which assembled in 1832, and continued its session uninterruptedly till 1836, fulfilled with difficulty its task of revising the Urbarium of Maria Theresia, and determining the rights and duties of the peasants. The court opposed all propositions relating to a full emancipation of the peasant, and would not consent to any attack upon the feudal institutions. The Chancellor, Count Reviczky, who was an ardent friend to the Hungarian nationality, but only a half-liberal in his principles, was replaced by the reactionary Count Fidel Pálffy, a man without talent, who did not even understand Hungarian. He immediately caused arrests to be made, and political lawsuits to be instituted. B. Wesselényi, Kossuth, Ujhazy, Balogh, Madarasz, and Count Ráday, were among the number of the prosecuted. Those highest courts forgot their position and dignity so far as to allow the violation of the legal forms in reference to the defence; when, therefore, the sentence of Wesselényi, Kossuth, and some young men, found guilty of high treason, was published, the indignation of the whole country was excited against the Go-

vernment and the highest courts. Count Pálffy, Count Cziráky, and Mr. Somssich, the Chancellor, and the Presidents of the highest courts, had not the courage to await the assembling of the Diet: they entered the German-Austrian State Service. Count Antony Mailath was made Chancellor—pliant, liberal, eloquent, and full of promises. His administration lasted from 1839 until 1844, and was rendered important by an amnesty in Hungary, the introduction of the statute laws concerning bills of exchange, and the recognition of religious equality. At this time the differences between Croatia and Hungary began to grow bitter: the Croatians wanted in future to keep the Protestants out of their country; and their Deputies, who in society constantly spoke Hungarian, demanded never to speak any language but Latin in the public sessions. Moreover they did not at that time strive as yet for the use of the Croatian language, but for the maintenance of the Latin: it was the last flicker of the conservatism favoured by the court, which was naturally obliged very soon to yield to a national movement.

Count Mailath was overthrown by intrigues: in his place succeeded Count Apponyi—young, proud, and obstinate, from want of experience yielding to Metternich, attached to centralization, and on that account opposed to the Archduke Joseph, who defended the municipal institutions of Hungary. The Archduke died after having been Palatine just fifty years: his son Stephen was appointed Statholder in Hungary. Enthusiastically received by the nation, he had the best intentions and desire to reconcile the interests of his native country with those of his family. In November, 1847, he was elected Palatine. In the Diet, the opposition in the House of Representatives, under the leadership of Kossuth, obtained a majority: the Magnates were almost equally divided, but the greatest share of talent was evidently on the side of the Opposition, who were headed in the House of Magnates by Count Louis Batthyanyi. A general reform of the Hungarian Constitution was in progress: the immunity from taxation enjoyed by the nobles was abolished, and the municipal institutions and representation of the towns was in course of revision, when the news arrived that the French Revolution had broken out, and France had become a Republic.

FRANCIS PULSZKY.

MEMOIRS

OF A

HUNGARIAN LADY.

CHAPTER I.

FIRST IMPRESSIONS OF HUNGARY.

A VIENNESE by education, I knew very little about Hungary, before I went there in the year 1845, for in my childhood I heard of it only in the lessons I received in geography; if any trace of it occurred in my historical studies, this was so slight as not to strike the memory.

At school, where I spent ten years, there chanced to be several Hungarian pupils; the other children considered them proud, for they kept apart, and sometimes evaded the rule, which imposed the French language on all of us, by addressing one another in their native tongue. We listened with mixed feelings of distrust and ridicule, as we fancied that this strange dialect could not have any real meaning, and was only to be understood by conventional signs, or some kind of intuitive knowledge.

When I entered society I occasionally met Hungarians; but they were almost always ladies who had been educated in Vienna, and gentlemen who had resided there for years. They were distinguished by no peculiarity, unless perhaps the latter by their mustachios, which they never gave up, even in the time when the imperial Francis, the grandfather of the present Emperor, prohibited all kinds of beards to persons in civil office. The Hungarians alone were privileged by Spanish etiquette itself to preserve that masculine appendage, at all times and occasions.

We frequented several Hungarian families who had their home in Vienna. Amongst them there predominated more hospitality with

less ostentatious display, than existed in most houses where company was received; their balls offered far more amusement, the young men danced with gayer spirits, conversed in a more agreeable manner, and behaved with more courtesy to the young ladies than the gentlemen in other drawing-rooms, who generally considered that they were conferring a great favour on their partners when they languidly walked a quadrille.

I recollect, as a child, having seen the Hungarian deputation who came to congratulate the Emperor Francis on his having reached the fortieth anniversary of his reign, and likewise the Hungarian noble guard, and the maids of honour who appeared in full costume on the occasion of the marriage of King Ferdinand V.[1] with the Princess of Sardinia. Afterwards, when I read the Thousand and One Nights, the beautiful Hungarians in their brilliant magnificence appeared to me to embody the gallant Arabian champions, and splendid oriental dames.

At the annual festival on Corpus-Christi Day,[2] the manly countenances of the Hungarian noblemen, as they were proudly borne by their richly caparisoned horses, might have been distinguished at a considerable distance.

These radiant pictures soon passed from my imagination. I seldom went to admire such sights, and I may say, that for years my thoughts had quite as little to do with Hungary as those of any Viennese. Though but at a few hours' distance from the frontier, that country very seldom formed the topic of conversation in fashionable circles; and when this chanced to happen, it was referred to in no more definite terms than were applied to those unknown Chinese realms, which are severed by insurmountable walls from the rest of the world.

It was not until the year 1845 that my attention was particularly drawn towards Hungary, by frequent discussions around me, which were then carried on with uncommon vivacity. These controversies, quite unusual in a drawing-room, were called forth by polemic articles in the Augsburg Gazette on the *Védegylet*, literally translated: *Association for Protection.* I inquired from a person who took an active part in the animated conversation what that meant? and was answered, "A ridiculous demonstration against Austria! The Hun-

[1] The late Emperor, Ferdinand I. of Austria, King Ferdinand V. in Hungary, had been crowned King of Hungary in 1830, during the lifetime of his father Francis. This had been determined in Vienna as a matter of precaution, to prevent the discussion of any other political subject under the European influence of the revolution in France, which had happened some weeks before the opening of the Diet at Presburg.

[2] On this day the dazzling procession in Vienna is headed by the Emperor and the Empress, who are followed by the Archdukes and Archduchesses, by the dignitaries, the clergy, and the garrison, all in full attire.

garians want to wear their own manufactures, and as they fabricate as yet nothing but blue cotton stuffs, the ladies attire themselves in such materials for parties, although they always before appeared in Viennese velvet and silks."[1]

This seemed a strange fancy; but I could not understand why it was mentioned in Vienna with such passionate animosity, and considered a crime.

I sought to solve this riddle, and read some of the articles in question. The champion of the Hungarians expressed himself with more calm dignity than his adversary, who did not refrain from personal attacks directed against his opponent.

From the whole I made out, that the aim of the accused association was to compel the Austrian Government by indirect means, as the direct ones of reiterated remonstrance from the Diet had failed, to alter the regulations of the tariff, which were extremely prejudicial to Hungarian trade, as they prevented the export of national productions to Austria by the imposition of severe duties on some, for example, on joiner's work 100 per cent., and by the total proscription of others. In the latter case was wrought iron, so that the inhabitants of Galicia were obliged to get their scythes from Styria, instead of buying them in their own neighbourhood, in the county of Gömör, where quantities of them were produced.

In direct contrast to this intolerance, the Austrian manufactures were freely imported into the kingdom of Hungary, where English and French commodities had very little circulation, on account of the high import duties put upon them.

The Hungarians claimed a fair application either of the principles of free trade, or of those of protection; and protested against a system, which at the same time stopped the foreign markets, and was oppressive to national industry.

I understood nothing about political economy, but this reasoning seemed no algebraic problem. What I most wondered at, was to hear about manufactures in Hungary; where I had been told, that uncultivated plains spread in all directions of this unpeopled land, in which only here and there forlorn mortals wandered, covered with sheep's-skin, where only single towns arose like oases in the deserts; —a land of hidden treasures, jealously kept by the fiend of barbarism, which the civilizing German could redeem for mankind only, by driving the Hungarians back to the borders of the Theiss,—the Mississippi of European civilization.[2]

[1] Later I learnt the cause of this assertion. Some ladies of the rich aristocracy had occasionally worn cotton dresses, when the silk manufactures which really existed in Hungary, could not sufficiently supply the increasing demands for them.

[2] This is the assertion of the renowned German political economist, F. List.

My curiosity was not less excited when a gentleman asked my mother permission to introduce the Hungarian writer of the above-mentioned articles to our house: "But," said he, "you must excuse the very coarse cloth of my passionately rigid Magyar." Can there be a Hungarian, thought I, who writes German so well, and is so fanatic! He cannot be young to have acquired so perfect a style, in a language not his own, and he must be very whimsical to retain such extravagant fancies.

The portrait of the individual I sketched was of course elderly, haggard, yellow, and, with his patriotic costume, very bear-like indeed. I found it bore no resemblance to the youthful, fresh-complexioned original, who soon afterwards appeared before me in a black evening dress, as civilized as any disciple of French fashion. Some months subsequently this gentleman became my husband.

In spite of the brighter colours with which my feelings depicted the country that soon was to be my home, I had viewed it but in the vague twilight of distant acquaintanceship; and was hence delighted and astonished when crossing its threshold, it burst upon me in the unexpected magnificence of its radiant morning.

Probably but few of my readers are unacquainted with the Rhine from Düsseldorf to Mayence. There is no traveller who does not gladly remember the beautiful German river, fringed by hills richly covered with green vines, and grey remnants of ancient castles, and by gay little towns with sombre gothic cathedrals. A peculiar charm of poetry illustrates these river banks, and every poet, whose way leads through these scenes, is anxious to add a fresh laurel to the glorious wreath of the Rhine.

So much is the Rhine celebrated; yet but little attention granted to the Danube, which from the heights of Passau down to the plains of Hungary is still more romantic and varied with splendid scenery than the favourite of tourists. But the poetry and romance that form the main attractions of the feudal ruins of the Rhine-land, and engrave their memories so deeply in our minds, are, in the countries of the grandest stream in Europe, buried in dead silence.

Poets have not yet attempted to stir the treasures of historical recollections, which repose in the waves that wind their course from Donau-Eschingen to the Black Sea. The straitening cords with which Austrian censorship pinions the wings of genius, to disable it from flight, prevent the free movements of the poet and the historian. The Rhine re-echoes with innumerable lays; the Danube resounds with no such melodies.

More than once I had followed the course of this river, from Ratisbonne to Vienna, and had been highly pleased with the surrounding garlands of dark pines, varied by the cheerful beech and graceful vine. The sumptuous and venerable Dome of Ratisbonne,

the Walhalla, a monument of modern eccentricity; the shattered Castle of Dürrenstein, where the imprisoned Richard Cœur de Lion recognized the voice of his minstrel, Blondell,—the princely monasteries of Mölk and Göttwei,—the boisterous boiling of the waves of the Danube breaking there, through and over invisible rocks, called the Strudel and Wirbl, the attractive town of Linz; all these formed in my mind, a wonderful picture illustrative of the Nibelungen, the latter part of which refers to this very scenery.

But on the other side of Vienna I thought every interest was exhausted, and every beauty effaced. When the vision of Hungary rose, it always was the fertile, treeless, untracked, uncivilized plain, through which the Danube streamed, like the Volga through the Asiatic wastes. What was, therefore, my astonishment, when, swiftly carried by the steamboat from Vienna to Pest, we hardly had time to mark all the traces of events connected with the borders, which so transiently passed our eyes.

My husband, who, in common with most Hungarians, had passionately studied history, was far better acquainted with the banks of the Danube than were the fashionables of Vienna, for whom, according to the Austrian system of education, the book of history was closed.

After the Praterau (meadows of the Prater), which is the finest park in Vienna—had disappeared from our glance, my husband called my attention to Kaiserebersdorf, a village, once the headquarters of the Hungarian King Matthias Corvinus, during his expedition against Austria, when he took Vienna, and made it for several years the capital of his realm. Later, in 1809, it became the head-quarters of the Emperor Napoleon, previously to the eventful battles of Aspern and Wagram, in which the honour of the day was due to the Hungarian regiments.

Who could then have believed that, after a few years, but one English mile from this spot, near the villages of Mannswörth and Schwechat, the steeples of which we could perceive, Austrians would be sent to fight against Hungarians!

Farther down, in the borough of Petronell, Count Traun's stately castle stands in the midst of his park. This was once the site of the Roman Carnuntum, one of the main stations of the Roman fleet on the Danube, a post important to keep the Markomans in check, and a favourite abode of the philosophical Emperor Marcus Aurelius. On the column of Antoninus in Rome, we still see this Roman plantation represented with remarkable colonnades extending to the river's margin, with temples and warm baths; and above them the theatre, and the stream enlivened by vessels.

But the Roman *chefs-d'œuvre* are destroyed. One highly vaulted arch, popularly designated as the Heidenthor (the gate of the Hea-

thens), and several single anticaglias of bronze, discovered sometimes by the plough, are the only remnants of ancient splendour. Save the passing of the daily steamboat, the river is forlorn, owing to the Austrio-Hungarian custom-line, which some miles lower down, stops every attempt at commercial intercourse on the Danube, between the frontiers of Austria and Hungary. No vessel coming from Hungary, not even the steamboat, is permitted to land passengers in any places, except Hainburg or Vienna, where the custom-houses are. When Count Traun travels home from his estates in Hungary, he may not descend from the steamboat to his castle, but is obliged to go by land, or to submit to the circuit by Vienna.

At a small distance from Petronell, a high tumulus reminds the traveller of the mighty dominion of the Huns and their King Attila, whom the modern writers treat merely as a destructive Asiatic chief, though tradition, from the remotest north throughout all German nations, invests him with the noblest generosity and the most praiseworthy forbearance, as well as with that invincible bravery which the French and Italians ascribe to Charlemagne, and the Welsh to King Arthur.

Doubtless, Attila is the father of telegraphic communication in Europe. From both his residences, from his movable tent on the Theiss and the imposing Etzelburg (Acquincum in by-gone ages, now Bude on the Danube); he had placed in all directions, as far as his sway extended, watchful guards, who communicated with one another by signs, and thus conveyed tidings with the utmost celerity, to Attila's residence. The tumulus, near Petronell, is one of these observatories mentioned by annalists.

Farther down, on a steep ascent raised over the Danube, we see the ruin of the castle of Hainburg, once the Austrian border-fortress against Hungary; and on the opposite side on the perpendicular rock, under which the March disembogues into the Danube, we behold the shattered remnants of the hill-fort of Theben, the border-fortress of Hungary.

The ruin of the Castle of Hainburg, forms at present the park of an estate, which twenty years ago belonged to Countess Lipona, the unfortunate Queen Caroline, well known as the widow of Murat, the chivalrous and ill-fated King of Naples.

Close to the Danube stands the small manufacturing town of Hainburg. Its middle-age feudal walls now serve as barriers against smuggling, Hainburg being the largest establishment of the Austrian Treasury's tobacco fabrication, where the Hungarian leaf is artificially prepared for the consumption of the imperial provinces. It is macerated so as to receive a particularly disagreeable smell, by which it infallibly may be distinguished from the unspoiled tobacco; so that through the whole empire every custom-house officer, blessed with a

keen sense of smell, may directly detect those who venture to smoke contraband tobacco, and is thus enabled to apprehend the culprits, if they should not happen to justify themselves by means of a few shillings.

The stronghold of Dévény (Theben) was far more picturesque previously to 1809, when the greatest part of this fine ruin was wantonly blown up by the French. A little octangular tower, on the extreme pitch of the rock, however, was spared, and gracefully decorates the brilliant landscape.

According to tradition, Dévény was, in the times of the Slavonic King Swatopluk (before the Hungarians possessed the country), the palace of his daughter Devojna, who dwelt there as one of a band of Amazon virgins, and who, when forced to marriage by the will of her father, threw herself from the tower into a watery grave.[1]

In the period of the religious wars in Hungary, Botskay, the leader of the Protestants, had occupied Dévény in 1606; and when the Austrians, under cover of night, sent to Posony (Pressburg) a small fleet with troops, it was set on fire from the height of Theben. The imperial army found its grave in the waves, and instead of numerous forces, the deserted flaming ships testified that King Rodolf's attempt to raise his banner over the March had failed.

About four English miles from these, on the right bank of the Danube, rests the decaying tower of Wolfsthal, where Ferdinand of Austria was welcomed by the solemn deputation of the party that elected him King of Hungary, A. D. 1526, and received from him the sacred promise, to uphold the constitution and the rights of the kingdom.

Mountains drawn in soft lines, and covered with woods and vineyards, present themselves to the view between Theben and Pressburg, which extends from the descents of the Schlossberg to the levels of the Danube. The town has no classical style of architecture to boast of; but the romantic attractions of its situation and its neighbourhood claim attention, as well as the historical reminiscences with which it is connected. It is the town where the sovereigns of Hungary are crowned,—where the King, coming with the festival procession from the coronation, swears to the Constitution in the market-place, in the face of Heaven and in the presence of the assembled Diet and the people.

On the outskirts of the town is the pretty artificial elevation in sight of the Danube, where the King on horseback swings the sword of St. Stephen towards the four regions, thus to express symbolically, that he would for ever defend the integrity of the country from

[1] Amazon Princesses are a peculiar feature of Slavonic tradition,—Libussa, Wanda, Wlasta, Devojna.

whatever side it might be attacked. At Pressburg too the Diet used to meet. There, likewise happened the remarkable incident so illustrative of Hungarian loyalty, when Marie Therese in September, 1741, pressed by the greater part of Europe, turned to Hungary for protection.

The Bavarians were already in Linz,—the Prussians in Silesia,—Prague, the capital of Bohemia, just about to join the enemy,—when the youthful Queen betook herself to the assembled representatives, described her position with deep eloquence,[1] and spoke her full conviction that her safety rested on the fidelity and gallantry of the Hungarians.

Amongst the assembled peers and deputies were several who, under Rákóczy, had fought against the House of Austria, besides a considerable number of sons and grandsons of patriots who had been persecuted in the times of the cruel Leopold I. At this moment, however, every one forgot past wrongs, and all exclaimed unanimously: "Our life and blood for our Queen Marie Therese!"

Universal Hungary rose in arms, and met the enemy.

This grand scene of valiant enthusiasm so highly gratified her Majesty, that she regretted her princely consort had not been a witness to it, and therefore, it was to be exhibited again in presence of the Archduke Francis and the foreign ambassadors. To give a sufficient cause for this repetition, the Queen took in her arms her infant son, the Archduke Joseph, and commended him to the assembled diet. Once more the "vitam et sanguinem" thundered through the hall, but it was no more the first burst of feeling—it was a political performance got up for the occasion.

The Queen's Hungarian troops and generals saved the throne for her and for her successor,—the infant she had commended to the diet; but after he possessed the imperial diadem, his policy aimed to destroy the Hungarian constitution, and to enforce a central Austria. Therefore in Hungary a feeling of bitterness is connected with the memory of the grand scene of 1741, from this ungrateful requital of Joseph II.

Below Pressburg, the borders of the Danube exhibit a considerable depression; on both sides the small Hungarian plain is visible,

[1] The Queen spoke Latin. From the remotest periods to the year 1836, both the Latin and the Hungarian tongue were used by the representatives. It was during the diets of 1796, 1802, 1807, and 1811, that in courtesy to the Palatine Archduke Joseph, whose knowledge of Hungarian was imperfect, the house of peers spoke Latin. In 1836, the law decided that henceforth the Hungarian should be the language of the diet, granting an exception only to the Croatian Deputies who continued to speak Latin. In 1844 the law decreed, that in the diet the Croatian members should likewise use the Hungarian tongue, but should be allowed six years more to learn it.

with fertile pasture-grounds and arable land, frequently intersected by branches of the mighty river.

Proceeding for several hours, we distinguished in the distance on the Szent Marton, Mons Pannoniæ, the Benedictine Abbey, founded by St. Stephen; in the Middle Ages the centre of theological learning in Hungary.

Hence it was that Arpád, the Duke of the nomadic Hungarians, after he had conquered Svatopluk, surveyed the whole country and found the wide plain, commanded by the mountain so agreeable, the pasture so rich, and the water of the Danube so rapid, that he resolved to settle here, and to prepare a new dominion. In remembrance of this, the mountain is still named Mons Pannoniæ.

In the abbey church, the marble seat of the King of Hungary, St. Stephen, is still shown, and the people ascribe to it wonderful sanative powers. On the 20th of August, a multitude of catholic pilgrims meet there, and after having confessed and heard mass, they succeed one another in the seat, in the firm conviction that by this they shall be healed of rheumatism and sciatica. Sometimes the procession is so numerous, that more than one of the patients must wait two or three days, till his turn comes to enjoy the red marble seat.

We rapidly passed the town and the fortress of Komárom (Komorn). Its low position does not in the least convey the notion of its being impregnable. Never has this fortress been subdued by arms, and full in sight stands on its wall, on the west side, the statue of a virgin clenching her hand to the foe, in contemptuous defiance.

On the left bank we soon reached Zsitvatorok. There, under the reign of Leopold I., the first favourable treaty of peace was made with the Turks. On the right lie the vineyards of Almás and Neszméły. In this latter place, known by its excellent vines, died King Albrecht, the first Archduke of Austria, who by his marriage with the Queen Elizabeth, 1337,[1] received the crown of Hungary. He could not accustom himself to the Hungarian climate, and died of an indigestion, caused by his intemperate partiality for watermelons. It seems that the Austrian Princes, up to our days, dread this fate of their ancestor; for, regardless of the pledge reiterated by all the sovereigns of Hungary to spend a part of every year in the kingdom, not a single one of them has kept that promise for these last three hundred years.

The Vértes Mountains (Shield Mountains) touched our horizon. In their neighbourhood, the Hungarians so severely routed the

[1] Elizabeth was the daughter of Sigismund, King of Hungary and Bohemia, and Emperor of Germany.

troops of the German Emperor, Henry III., that these, flying into the mountains, threw away their shields to facilitate their speedy escape, and it is to this incident the Shield Mountains owe their appellation.[1]

Below Neszmély begin the extensive quarries of red marble, on the margins of the Danube. In the village of Piszke every door-post, every threshold is marble; but this does not prevent the place retaining a wretchedly poor aspect.

Soon again the banks become elevated, and from a steep height the newly-erected cathedral of Esztergom (Gran) commands the view of the surrounding country. It is an immense building, in which the whole population of the small town of Gran might comfortably reside, and a stupendous cupola crowns the whole. The structure of this, the largest of all Hungarian churches, is a perfectly original one, which may a good deal puzzle the student of the history of art. On the whole expanse of the globe, there are but two monuments of architecture that belong to the same style—the National Gallery in Trafalgar Square, and the pointed steeple at the end of Regent Street. Possibly this is a particular Sclavonic specimen of a future art, but certainly the founder of the Cathedral of Gran, the Prince Primate, Alexander Rudnay, has not furnished the world with a specimen of classical discernment.

According to the original plan, a splendid palace for the Archbishop and a seminary should have been added to this ungracefully fantastic temple, and on each side should have been ranged residences for twenty-four canons; but the enormous revenues of the archbishopric did not suffice even for the achievement of the dome. Judging from this, as well as from the effects of recent commotions, little chance remains of our seeing this primitive conception completed, and the admirers of the beautiful, who travel down the Danube, will be spared further mortification. It must, however, in justice be admitted, that from a convenient distance, the cupola, with the golden cross glittering in the boundless space, has a good effect.

Close to Gran, St. Stephen in the year 1000, conquered the Duke of Sümegh Kupa, the chief of those Hungarians, who, in fight with Christianity and royalty, wielded their swords in defence of their inherited heathen faith, and their ancient institutions. St. Stephen's triumph made the Hungarians a European people, and incorporated them into the family of nations united in Western civilization.

[1] This event took place in the year 1050, when the Emperor wanted to constrain the Hungarians to accept St. Stephen's nephew, Peter, (called the German,) as their king, and to yield Hungary as a fief to the German Empire.

Previously to the battle, the king was girded as a knight, in observance of the customs of the west, by the leader of his army, the German Knight Wencelin, of Wasserburg. It was not only Christianity, but with it feelings of chivalrous honour, and ideas of Western civilization which St. Stephen adopted, in contrast to the Russians, who accepted indeed Christianity, but remained strangers to the notions of European honour, to zeal in the research after truth, and to the struggle for not material possessions only, but moral interests.

The bridges of boats form a peculiar feature in the country of the Danube. At Pressburg, Komorn and Gran we see such bridges the only means of communication between the opposite banks, for nine months of the year. During three months, one may walk over the ice, or when the frost is not hard, try one's fortune, by tottering on uncertain boats through flakes of ice.

. The majestic stream did not pass under any yoke from Vienna down to the sea; Trajan's Bridge, on the Servian frontier, could not resist the wild impetuosity of the waves. Recently, the Hungarian spirit of enterprise, assisted by English ability and German capital, joined Bude to Pest by the erection of the suspension-bridge, a wonderful masterpiece, which comprehends the largest width ever compassed by an arch.

From Gran to Pest the landscape around is radiant with beauty. Trachyt cones, overgrown with bushes, rise to a considerable height perpendicularly over the surface of the waters, which struggle in manifold windings through their bed, straitened by the mountains, and lead with every change of direction to a newly striking view. Sometimes we behold the stream enframed with a mountain scenery; at other times our eyes may follow its course to a long distance; the mountains recede and give way to expanded dales.

The finest ornament, however, of these parts, are the ruins of the Castle of Vissegrád. Like Theben, it is one of those fortified places built by the Slavonians before the Hungarians came into the country.

In the first epoch of our kings descended from Arpád, Vissegrád is only known, as the prison of King Solomon, a frivolous tyrant, detained by his illustrious cousin, St. Ladislas. Tradition says, that the King, from above the tower where he was secluded, cursed the people that had forsaken him, and gave them up to eternal discord.

But in the 14th century, under the reign of the brilliant Anjous, Vissegrád was the royal residence. The soil at present sterile, which from the summit of the rock extends downwards, was in those days a blooming garden. On the upper flat of the height magnificent tournaments were held; and the now silent ruins was the abode of the most exalted monarch of his period. Louis of Anjou, was King of Poland and Hungary, Sovereign of the Princi-

palities of the Danube, ruler and suzerain of Naples; his dominion spread from the Baltic to the Adriatic and the Black Sea; his influence to the Strait of Messina.

At the Court of Charles Robert,[1] the first of the Anjous, who bore the sceptre of Hungary, Vissegrád was the scene of a dreadful tragedy. Clara, maid of honour to the Queen and daughter of Felician Zach, one of the most influential Barons and high dignitaries of the realm, fell a victim to the profligacy of Casimir, Prince of Poland, brother of the Queen, who, blinded by affection for her relative, was an accomplice to this atrocious crime.

When Felician became aware of the terrible truth, he hurried into the royal hall, to avenge with blood the honour of his daughter; but Casimir had already fled; the Queen was alone at her banquet, with her little son on her knees. Felician rushed towards her with his sword; she had instinctively lifted up her arm to protect the child against the blow; thus her head escaped, but her hand was mutilated. The Prince's tutor, Poháros of Kapivár, "the hero of the goblet" (probably a surname), disarmed the raving father.

Charles Robert punished this act of despair in the most horrid manner. Felician was cruelly executed; the unhappy Clara, with all her relatives to the fourth degree, were also dragged to the slaughter; and the remaining members of the family of Zach were robbed of their estates, and exiled from the land of their ancestors.

The Diet was assembled and called upon to confirm this punishment; but in spite of the formal sanction, given to these horrors, the beautiful Clara still survives in the memory of the people as the innocent victim of the vindictiveness of Charles Robert, whose wise commercial regulations, no less than his active solicitude for the welfare of the community are, in Hungary, now only remembered by the historian.

Certainly there is no error in the observation of a German poet—that the recollection of alarm and cruelty lasts much longer than the remembrance of benefits; the tree retains the name that has been engraved with sharp iron in its stem, but does not tell the name of him who has planted and watched it with tender care.

At every step which we advance towards the capital of the country—the united towns of Bude and Pest—recollections multiply, which lead us back to the era of the Turks—of the civil wars—with the cruelties and devastations committed in Hungary by German generals, and their cowardice in the Turkish battles. Prince

[1] Charles Robert's father, was Charles Martell, the friend of Dante, immortalized by this stern poet of eternity in the Paradiso, under the name of the King of Hungary, although he was only a pretender to this crown, and never received it in reality.

Eugene of Savoy, Prince Charles of Lorraine Schwarzenberg (the ancestor of the present Austrian minister), and the Margrave of Baden, are the only illustrious exceptions to the above-mentioned ravagers.

Close to the metropolis, we again find mighty remains of Roman genius in the aqueducts of Acquincum, which likewise formed a station of the Roman fleet, on the Danube. It was situated at one English mile above the present dock-yard, belonging to the Danube Steam-boat Association. In former ages, Attila's castle stood there, highly renowned in the tales of the North as the scene of the last catastrophe in the Nibelungenlied—lay of the Niebelungen—the most primitive and powerful epic of Teutonic genius.

The dragon's conqueror, Siegfried, King of Burgundy, who, like the Greek Achilles, is invulnerable, except at one particular spot of his body, is murdered on the Rhine, by the command of his brother-in-law; and his incalculable treasure, to which a curse is attached, is plunged into the waves. His widow, the beautiful Krimhild, then marries Attila, and asks her brother to a festival on the Danube. They come down to the Etzelburg, where, during the royal banquet, at Krimhild's instigation, a contest arises; Attila's brother, Blödel, is killed, the Princes of the Rhine and their retinue are attacked; they defend themselves heroically, and all perish at last under the ruins of the hall, then being consumed by flames; but Krimhild, who jeers one of the dying men (the murderer of Siegfried) likewise falls by his hand.

This is Krimhild's dreadful vengeance; a tradition which we meet under various shapes, throughout all the German races, from Iceland to the Alps. But in Hungary every trace of this tale is effaced, or may be has never existed. The Hungarian Attila is totally different from the Etzel of northern tales; yet there is no doubt that both historical traditions spring from the same root.

At a small distance from the height on which the Etzelburg stood, and where at present we see the military hospital Kleinzell, a rivulet disembogues into the Danube; there, in the dale, according to the chronicler, is the burying-place of Arpád, the first of the Hungarian Dukes, who had reared his tent, as the nomades used to do, on the isle of Csepel, where his horses grazed.

The situation of the united towns of Bude and Pesth, opposite to each other, on both banks of the wide stream, is one of the most picturesque imaginable.

On the interminable sand-plain, to the left, we see the busy mercantile Pest, spreading daily in every direction. Elegant palaces form a border to the Danube; but the lack of steeples and buildings of the Middle Age is characteristic. It is a wholly modern, not a monumental town. The other side is commanded from the summit

of a steep ascent, by the fortress-town of Bude, with several irregular streets and many churches, which cause it to present a striking contrast to its successful rival and neighbour.

The fortress-height is surrounded by other hills, below which rest quietly the more modest parts of the city, overlooked by villas and gardens—the summer abodes of the wealthier citizens of Pesth.

We get a view of Vissegrád, where was the seat of the brilliant Anjous; next we behold Bude, resplendent once, in the glory of Matthias Corvinus. His court in the latter end of the fifteenth century, greatly outshone all other royal residences in Europe. Heroes and scholars were honoured with particular distinction by the King, who corresponded with the pride of Italian learning, and for years granted his hospitality to Martius Galeotti, remembered by the English reader as the astrologer in Sir Walter Scott's "Quentin Durward." This man was highly prized at the Hungarian court: not as in France at a subsequent period, for his astrological pretensions, but for his profound knowledge of the Roman classics. He bitterly regretted having exchanged Bude for the dreary atmosphere of the sternly superstitious Louis XI. Galeotti's work, "De Dictis Gestisque Matthiæ" is a rich mine of character, drawn from the romantic life of the great Hungarian sovereign.

The whole of Europe recognized in him the most powerful support and guardian of Christianity against the Mohammedans, and his western neighbours, Podiebrad of Bohemia, and the German Emperor, Frederic of Austria, who experienced the ill consequence of offending the King of Hungary.

In the history of that realm, the sandy plain around Pest, designated as the Rákos, is of the most critical importance. For centuries it was the habitual place of meeting of the Diet; the lower nobility and the representatives of the towns encamped there in tents; whilst the high nobility deliberated with the monarch in the Castle of Bude. With these localities innumerable tales are naturally connected; but there are especially two of them that are ever alive in the memory of the people: the execution of Ladislas Hunyady, and the election to royalty of his brother Matthias.

John Hunyady, the very eminent Governor of Hungary, during the minority of Ladislas Posthumus (son of Albrecht of Austria, who died at Neszmély), fell in the glory of victory, a few weeks after he had relieved Belgrád, the border-fortress of the kingdom, which had been besieged by the Turks. His son Ladislas, a youth of twenty-four years, remained in possession of the fortress.

This important place in the hands of the most popular man of the country, who in spite of his youth, had by his exploits already highly distinguished himself, was viewed with a jealous eye by the King, who sought to gain possession of it by artifice. To receive it per-

sonally from Hunyady, he went there, accompanied by German troops, but when he and his retinue had passed over the drawbridge, this was draw up, and the German soldiers were refused admission, in accordance with the ancient custom, which forbade a border-fortress to be occupied by a foreign garrison. The King saw that Hunyady was perfectly safe in the midst of his warriors, and, therefore, resolved to get rid of him by assassination.

Owing to this, Ullrich, Count of Cilly, the Sovereign's councillor, and his uncle by the mother's side, began an angry discussion with Ladislas Hunyady, and as if overpowered by passion attempted to strike him down. But a golden ring on the young hero's little finger averted the blow, and Count Ullrich was killed by Hunyady's friends, who hastened to his rescue. Ladislas himself directly went to the King, communicated the fatal tidings, and entreated forgiveness, which was granted with gracious semblance; Hunyady's mother, however, the widow of the lofty governor, knew but too well the monarch's inherited character, and did not rest until, in sacred token of sincere pardon, he had received the sacrament, and divided the consecrated wafer with her son.

After several days, during which splendid tournaments had celebrated the presence of the royal visitor, he returned to Bude, where he was soon followed by Ladislas Hunyady, who, in compliance with the King's desire, was to be married to Mary, the lovely daughter of the Palatine Gara—thus to end the inveterate feud between the two mightiest families of the country, the Hunyadys and the Garas, who were the Hungarian Montagues and Capulets.

Magnificent festivals were to precede this marriage, and both the sons of the deceased governor appeared at Bude, contrary to the express wish, specially mentioned in the last will of their father, (who was conscious that his name and popularity would prove too dangerous a heritage), that they should never stay together at one place.

They had hardly entered Bude with their attendants, when they were arrested, by the King's order. Matthias, the younger brother, escaped from prison by the help of his friends, and was brought to Bohemia to Podiebrad, who held there the same position, which had been occupied in Hungary by the great Hunyady; but Ladislas was, without trial, doomed to death.

Clad in bridal garments he marched to the place of St. George, where he was to be executed; and so overpowering was the consternation, and the sympathy for the young hero, that even the executioner's steady hand trembled, and after aiming three blows he was still unable to sever the head from the trunk. Ladislas concentrated his remaining strength, and said, "In accordance with my

country's customs I am free. After the third stroke, the executioner has no power over me."

The assembled people crowded to accompany him home in triumph, but exhausted by the loss of blood, the unfortunate youth slipped, wrapped himself in his purple cloak, and fell to the ground, where the cruel man, whose arm had trembled on the scaffold, presently dispatched him.

A few months afterwards, the King died suddenly at Prague, on the eve of the day on which he was to be united to a French Princess. It was the popular belief that he had been poisoned by his mistress, the jealous Agnes, who divided an apple with him, cut with a knife poisoned on one side.

The throne of Hungary was vacant, and the people met on the Rákos to elect anew their royal liege. The high dignitaries of the realm assembled at Bude, and the intrigues for the interests of the neighbouring princes were zealously managed; but a sudden frost unexpectedly restored the communication between the two banks of the Danube; Hunyady's adherents, forty thousand in number, led by Szilágyi, Matthias's uncle, encamped on the ice of the river, and when their cry of "Hurrah for King Matthias" reached the walls of Bude, the Barons thought it best to accede the crown to John Hunyady's still minor son. A deputation was sent to Bohemia to receive the youthful King; Podiebrad, however, did not allow the departure of Matthias, aged but fourteen, before he had seen the princely boy married to his daughter Kunigund, in Hungary afterwards called Catherine.

The romantic history of King Matthias can find no place in these pages. He became and remained the most popular of all Hungarian Kings; and, to the present day, the people, when pressed by injustice, exclaim: "King Matthias is dead, and justice with him."

I have delayed longer on the passage from Vienna to Pesth than may perhaps seem necessary, unless that journey should prove gratifying to any one acquainted with the historical soil over which I passed. It was full of joyful interest to me, as my first introduction to my new fatherland, in which I have spent several years of most perfect felicity; and I involuntarily look back to it with all the regret of a reluctant farewell.

CHAPTER II.

CASTLE SZECSENY.

THE manor, where we habitually resided, was sixty English miles from Pest. Its castle was situated in a fertile valley, varied by gentle slopes, and commanded the whole country round, that seemed to belong to the park; which was, in fact, separated only by a deep rivulet from the adjoining pastures, that were enlivened with groups of cattle and extended to the borders of Ipoly (Eipel). The river just named was crowned by a semicircle of eight villages, whose steeples gave friendly greeting from afar. In the back-ground arose dark mountains, of volcanic formation, marked on the horizon by noble outlines, in fine contrast to the verdant dale and the gentle hills, which were covered with golden crops and luxuriant vines.

This lovely picture impressed the eye as a parental blessing impresses the heart; it was impossible to resist its mildly exalting influence. The castle of Szécsény, raised on the ruins of the ancient fortress of that name, was a stately building, of the 18th century, and stood out boldly on a terrace, shaded by large groups of lemon trees and roses; from whence, by two divergent flights of steps, was the descent into the park. We found the castle and its dependencies—and, in fact, the whole estate, which we had only acquired in 1846—very much neglected; but the chief ornament of the park, the venerable centenary trees, elms, poplars, beeches, oaks, and pines, still maintained their ancient dignity, and their very shadows softly covered the inequalities of the marshy soil around. As these aged trees survived, we had no great difficulty in restoring the park, in a comparatively short time, to all its former grandeur.[1]

[1] Had the previous proprietor of the park listened to the advice of some of his friends, who thought he should have felled the timber, it would doubtless have been impossible to repair the damage. So it seems to me, when in modern states the vigorous stems of an ancient aristocracy are still found to exist, the true politician will take care to preserve them. The boughs may be easily pruned, which obstruct the open view or impede the growth of lower trees, but when the trunks are once felled, no wisdom can create them anew. This we see in France and Germany. Nevertheless, with such examples before their eyes, despotism and bureaucracy are at this very moment destroying in Hungary and Sicily a vigorous national aristocracy, under pre-

A cool ascent, sheltered by densely interlaced branches, led to the entrance of a small flower-garden, in the fragrance of which our children frequently enjoyed themselves, vying in the freshness of health with the blossoms around.

In this attractive spot stood an elegant conservatory, which united the modern castle to an old tower; one of the remnants of the ancient stronghold occupied there by the Turks in the seventeenth century. Three such towers had outlasted the ruined walls. This one had been used by the Moslems for the performance of their religious rites, and, by its circular structure, was well adapted to the purpose. The light falls through a window, which opens on the magnificent landscape without; itself an eloquent prayer of nature.

In later times that miniature mosque was considered a pleasurable retreat. We consecrated it as a Protestant Chapel—the only one in our borough; for the majority of its Hungarian population was Catholic. But on the other side of the Ipoly, there was a Slovak colony of Protestants, who were settled in several villages; and it was from these that most of the people came to attend our service.

The second tower, at the extreme end of the park—decorated less picturesquely than the first, with garlands of ivy, not frequently seen in Hungary—had a very different destination. It had been the jail, where used to be confined the prisoners of those feudal lords, whose manorial courts were endowed even with criminal jurisdiction. We did not prize this privilege; and therefore, as soon as we possessed it, surrendered it into the hands of the County Authorities, who could detain the culprits in the extensive establishment, (on the principle of solitary confinement), which the nobility of the County had erected by voluntary contributions. To us it was a great comfort to be able to dispense with the painful duty of sending the transgressors of the law into our dismal dungeon; and we thought it much better employed as the cellar of the poor family to whom I gave, as an abode, the upper part of the tower, which had been the residence of the turnkey.

The third remaining tower of the ancient fortress was turned into a granary. It had a Middle Age aspect, and its firm, stout walls were better adapted for preserving the grain from damp, than the dry, but less solid, buildings, of greater size, designed for that purpose.

The tower, in which on holydays more than a hundred people joined in our worship, could be easily ascended to its very summit. There, protected by a gallery, we could view with pleasure the wide

text of re establishing order, whilst in fact, they are sowing the seeds of fresh and more terrible revolutions.

plains on which John Sobiesky had appeared as a chivalrous deliverer of Austria, in the year 1686.

The castle of Szécsény had been one of those strongholds which often lay within the circle of contest, at the time of the Turkish wars; passing and repassing from the hands of the unbelievers into the possession of the Hungarians.

When Sobiesky, after his victorious relief of Vienna, returned through Hungary, to Poland, after several engagements, he reached the neighbourhood of Szécsény, then occupied by the Turks. The rightful proprietor was a young widow, the Countess Forgács; who, confiding in the well-known character of the heroic Pole, wrote a letter to him, entreating, that on his way he would expel the intruders from her heritage; and, as the protector of widows and orphans, restore it to her. This request was so perfectly adapted to Sobiesky's romantic turn of mind, that without delay he hastened with his army to Szécsény, stormed the castle, took it after a determined resistance, and restored it to its lawful owner.

To celebrate this feat, and to confer honour on the chivalrous Prince, the young widow gave a banquet and a ball in halls already half destroyed by fiery showers. The bloody day was closed by a night of festive gaiety, and the next morning awoke, no longer with the roar of cannon, but with blessings of the thousands who escorted the King on his homeward road.

From our principal eminence we distinguish two high-roads, one to the west, the other to the northeast, each conducting to a considerable market-town, of which the former is Balassa-Gyarmath, the seat of the County-courts; the other Losoncz: neither is at any great distance from the estate. This proved most useful as regards the sale of the produce, especially as Losonez is much frequented by purchasers from the mining districts—(that neighbourhood being the California of Hungary, and producing considerable quantities of gold and silver)—and from several of the northern parts of the country, which are deficient in corn—a crop abundant with us.

Behind the walls of the flower-garden rose a well-proportioned monastery. Its exterior conveyed the impression of much more comfort than could be expected from the abode of mendicant friars, such as the Franciscans. Before the reign of Joseph II. monastic orders were much more numerous in Hungary. That sovereign, however, abolished them, and confiscated their property. In our days we find there, as the most predominant conventual communities, Benedictines, Monks of Prémontré, Cistercians, and Piarists (*ordo scholarum piarum*), all of whom are connected with the Catholic institutions for instruction and education. Next come the Misericordians, respected as attendants on the sick (their cloisters are hospitals), and lastly, we have the professional begging-friars,

Franciscans and Capuchins. The Franciscans, in poorer parishes, often have to perform curate's duties; in other places they are the schoolmasters. They are not allowed to have any property; they live on alms, both occasional and regular, seeking them in the following manner.

From every convent a monk is yearly sent, at the periods of the harvest and vintage, to travel about in his district, and to request support from the lord and the peasant. Everything is received in the name of the Order:—money, crops, wine, fowls, and especially great numbers of geese,—the peasant's most customary gift; so that in autumn, hundreds and hundreds of these birds may be found in the convents. The goose, variously dressed, is not without relish for the well-fed monks; others are sold to the Hungarian Jews, who, out of respect to the Mosaic law, to avoid hog's fat and lard, substitute goose-grease. This, in part, also takes the place of butter, which is permitted to them only in certain combinations.

Our Franciscans were such as undertook parish duties; yet they were not liberally provided for by the people, who held them in no particular respect, and rather unwillingly allowed them their scanty tribute. This agrees so ill with the hospitable character of the Hungarian peasant, that its causes must be traced to the corporation itself, and its relation to the people. In our case, I perceived two reasons for it—the first a general, the second a local one. Our monks (as is customary with the ignorant servants of hierarchical dogmas) were, in theory, not seldom savagely fanatic. Their sermons raved about a dark gulf of unknown eternity, only lighted up by the fires of hell, which roasted the unbelievers, whose head and front were the Protestants, the most dangerous of all rebels to the "*sola salvifica*" Church. This fierce monk of the pulpit, with the anathema against all outlaws of Catholicism on his lips, on the very same Sundays, but a few short hours after service, showed himself in strange contrast as a jolly friar at our table, freely partaking of the Protestant's meal, without any visible care as to the risk of his soul. Though in dangerous contact with heretics, he was without the least apparent anxiety of Christian zeal, to save us from irretrievable damnation. On the contrary, he listened with obvious interest to conversations and agreeable anecdotes, which might do very well as pastime, but were certainly no themes for austere reflection. Nor was it with reluctant civility that the Franciscan gave us the benefit of his presence; for he assured us, with profound humility, that it was a great happiness to him to be invited to the dwelling of the lord of the manor. It is no individual exception of which I speak, but simply a specimen of the whole corporation, every member of which cordially availed himself of all repasts that

were offered, in whatever quarter, whether Lutherans, Calvinists, or Greeks. In this respect their tolerance was boundless.

This could not fail to strike the Hungarian peasant, whose hospitable and phlegmatic temper is as little accessible to intolerance, as his common good sense can remain unconscious of the obvious contradiction of the real and the ideal. They therefore accept the assertions of their clerical instructors with as little faith as they place in the remedies of their doctors, to whom they apply as seldom as possible, dreading the expensive apothecary and the bitter medicines far more than the disease.

The local cause of indifference and even contempt for our Franciscans, arose from one of the Order having obviously transgressed his limits, when, as chaplain to the former lord of the castle, he assumed sway over the whole household, and sustained it by very worldly intrigues. Not only those under his immediate control, but everybody in the neighbourhood, with and without any concern, began a guerilla of indefatigable gossip against the chaplain-steward, who was driven out of his intrenchments, and at last surrendered at discretion, leaving no other legacy to his brethren than an inveterate unpopularity. Indeed, the public (with the instinct which gives to the *vox populi vox Dei* the weight of a verdict) felt only too distinctly the invisible bondage put upon it by monastic association, and therefore extended to all of the Patres its well-founded aversion to one. Such impressions are sometimes effaced towards an individual of the unpopular class, by personal intercourse; but they still remain in force against the brotherhood at large.

The broad front of the castle, aided by wings, expanded upon an airy court, which was made cheerful by pretty parterres, affecting an elegant exclusiveness; for it was divided from the grounds of the adjoining borough by lofty iron gates. These, however, chanced to be planned on the principle of a ladder, and therefore could be scaled without the least trouble; as one of our young servant-girls practically showed, for being passionately fond of dancing, she always managed to get out by the locked gates, with as much ease as by the open ones, whenever the electrifying sound of a fiddle struck through her ears to her feet.

Most fortunately we never experienced the least inconvenience from our perfect free-trade of communication with all our curious neighbours, from the friars down to the gipsies, who daily and hourly visited court, garden and park.

The borough, with whose inhabitants we were in this uninterrupted contact, derived its origin from the times when the fortress, delivered from the Turks, had been abandoned by its garrison, who became the nucleus of the little town. Their magistrate still bore the title of Hadnagy (*lieutenant*) instead of *mayor;* and young and

old were rather proud of their borough, and thought themselves ill-used when short-sighted ignorance chanced to mistake for a village what they complimented themselves by considering a town.

The population consisted of from three to four thousand; a fourth of these were Jews, and about a hundred gipsies. There was a market, which, though on a small scale, was attended by many of the inhabitants of the surrounding villages. The place had a pleasant aspect. There were shops of all kinds, certainly not like those in Regent-street; indeed, with a twentieth part of a London mizzling fog, the imperfect pavements would have vanished not only from the sight, but likewise from the foot of the pedestrian; for much less moisture than the English coachmen call *damp*, sufficed to mash the loam into mud. My Viennese silk shoes were therefore soon exchanged for stout leather boots, more peasant-like than lady-like in appearance.

The majority of the traders were Jews, who were more active in Hungary perhaps than anywhere else, owing to the natural propensity of the Hungarian peasant to have some one to deal for him, while he prefers to bask as much as may be in the comfort of oriental ease. This, united to the good-humoured turn of mind of the Hungarian people, affords to the Israelites a position much preferable to that which they are grudgingly allowed in Germany. In Hungary, it is only where the German element predominates among the merchants in the towns, that the antipathy to the sons of Judah is retained. The latter, when poor, are generally very dirty; when rich, often arrogant; but always industrious and religiously beneficent.

I found them so with us. Most of them were poor, but this did not prevent their association for the mutual support of those who most needed assistance; and, in spite of adhering firmly in their habits of life to their exclusive Mosaic forms, they readily joined with Christians for the furtherance of charitable objects. Though in constant friendly intercourse with our people, they are still as strikingly distinct from them there as anywhere in the world. In their well-conducted synagogue I involuntarily fancied myself transported back to the Galilee of the Old Testament. Doubtless nothing conveys more vividly the indestructible vigour of a nationality upheld by religion, than the historical phenomenon of the Jewish existence.

When I first came into frequent contact with our Jews, I was greatly puzzled by their numerous personal names. As is well known, the Jews had in their ancient realm no family names. For their individual designation, they only added their father's name to their own; this was customary, not only with the Israelites, but with all Shemitic nations, and even with the Greeks; whilst the

Egyptians and Romans of a more aristocratic stamp, prized family appellations and pedigrees. The Jews, who have preserved most of their characteristics, likewise inherited this indifference to family names, and it was only the systematizing Emperor, Joseph II., who enforced upon them that general European custom. This was at the same time with his attempt to establish the German as the universal language in Hungary; and thus German names were imposed on the Jews by the public authorities of every neighbourhood, and from this date such have been officially recognized as belonging to particular families. But neither the Jews themselves, nor the people took any notice of this. The former kept to the names they received in their synagogues; the latter continued to give them nick-names, by which they are mostly known.

Apart as the Jews have kept amidst us after centuries of degradation, and still impressed with the stamp of their national physiognomy, they have nevertheless become Europeans, naturalized by the many interests and pursuits which they have in common with those who surround them. The case is very different with the gipsies, as they are met with in Hungary.

These people I have seen and observed for months, with the facility afforded by their daily peeps into our court,—a favour which I owed to their forward loquacity, as well as to their greediness.

Their slender shape, flowing black hair, glistening eyes, pearly teeth, and dark complexion, give them an exotic appearance, but we cannot call it attractive. In fact, they dwell in a realm of filth. The growing-up sons and daughters of their race have certainly garments of spotted rags; but the children dispense with even this luxury, quite satisfied to cover themselves with the mud in which they delight. Some of these little urchins are beautiful;—their eyes so purely blue, as if the glance of an Eastern heaven had transfused its pellucid colour into them. This peculiarity shines the brighter, as it presents a marked exception to the mystical brilliancy of the black-eyed majority.

We can trace back the tribe in Hungary to the end of the fourteenth century. They are apparently of Indian extraction, probably outcasts, driven by Tamerlane from their homes, whence they wandered farther and farther westward. In Hungary, as perhaps even in India, they are outcasts, not on account of their race, but owing to their unclean habits, their laziness and bodily weakness. They do not yet seem reconciled to the idea of fixed property, and still keep to their roving propensities. Every dirty work, which nobody else willingly does, is allotted to them. As formerly did the Jews in Egypt, they often make unburnt bricks; their women not unfrequently assisting in their scanty labours, in which they differ from

the Jewish females, who are decidedly averse to any kind of exertion.

Nothing, however, more clearly marks these gipsies as outcasts, than their taste for garbage. It is a great treat for them, when fowls, pigs, cattle, or even horses die. Be it by distemper or by accident, such dainties are always welcome to their appetite. This abnormous taste they justify by the argument: "If the animals are good to eat when the butcher has slaughtered them, must they not be much better when killed by God himself?"

Unmartial in their appearance, and notorious cowards, they differ from their brethren of the Middle Ages, who are said to have defied the rack. The best of them are like the children of Jubal:—"the father of all such as handle the harp and the organ;" or Tubal-Cain, "an instructor of every artificer in brass and iron."

They often excel in music; being artists untaught in art, they form whole bands, complete orchestras, and execute complicated performances, most of them without the knowledge of a single note. Like the chorus of the birds of the fields, they blend discordant tones into strange, but magical harmonies. With sudden transitions their strains of wild enthusiasm modulate into plaintive songs of the deepest melancholy. It is as if brilliant remembrances of a grand past flashed up from amidst the ashes of joy and hope! The blaze extinguished, nothing remains but the feeble glimmer of regret.

This is the impression left on the mind by the gipsies' music—a music perfectly adapted to the genius of Hungarian nationality. No Hungarian festival pleases the fancy without the gipsies' bands. They are as much in request at a peasant's wedding, as at an elegant entertainment in the County Hall. This is a public building in the chief place of the county, where the county meetings, called *Congregations*[1] are held, to which old and young come from great

[1] In Hungary, once in every three years, the nobles of every county were accustomed to assemble, under the presidency of their lords-lieutenant, officers appointed by the Government for life. At the same time the civil Corporations of each town met under the presidency of a commissioner, especially appointed for the purpose by the Government. In these assemblies were elected, by acclamation—and, in case of a contest, by ballot—all the magistrates and municipal functionaries for the three years next ensuing. The functionaries thus chosen had the administration of all the affairs of their county or their town, and were obliged to give their constituents an account of their stewardship at quarterly meetings technically called *congregations*. At these *congregations* all the acts of the Government were submitted to the assembled body, in order, in case of any illegality, that they might be forwarded, as *gravamina* or grievances, to the Diet. In these *congregations*, too, the instructions for the deputies to the Diet were prepared; for in Hungary the members of that body were, previously to the late reforms, literally dele-

distances. The gipsies are well aware of their own popularity, and make the most of it on every occasion. Such of them as are not in favour with the muse, and therefore uncourted, avail themselves

gates, and not representatives. The affairs were habitually carried on in the following mode. First the resolutions and orders of the "Cancellaria aulice" (Royal Chancery) of the "Consilium locum-tenentiale Hungaricum" (Home Office), and the "Camera regia" (Treasury) were published. If the majority thought any of these resolutions unlawful, a committee was named, which with the county fiscal (county attorney) was to give an opinion about the illegality. In case of necessity, a representation was drawn up, and submitted to the authority which was in fault, or the whole affair was consigned "as grievance" to the Diet. Then followed the correspondence with the other counties, relative to any political questions of the day; next came the accounts given by the county functionaries of their administration for the last three months; after this, the petitions of private persons, which were put into the hands of the magistracy, or of specially appointed deputations; and at last any complaints against the municipal officers. Besides every member of the congregation was free to make independent motions. The sheriff (Alispan, Vice Comes) always opened the sessions with a statistical survey of the state of the county, of the receipts and disbursements, of the condition of the roads, of the prisons, of the suits pending, and processes decided, of the price of provisions, &c. In the autumnal congregations the budget of the county was regularly examined, and the necessary outlays of money for the next year were voted, for the expenses occasioned by all municipal concerns, as, the payment of the county functionaries, of the physicians, surgeons, and apothecaries for the poor, and the expense of keeping up the roads and prisons. The whole budget was then sent to the Home Office "Consilium locum-tenentiale Hungaricum" to be sanctioned. To that board likewise all protocols of the congregations were communicated, that in case one or the other resolution of the county should be found unlawful, it could be annulled. In such cases the points in question were by the county or by the Government submitted to the Diet, and by this were definitively decided.

As a result of these institutions, the Hungarian Diet was not liable to be overworked by the enormous mass of business which, I understand, oppresses the English Parliament: for our Diet confined itself to giving general sanction to that which the congregations recommended in detail. Until the laws of April, 1848, things might sometimes be virtually settled by the congregations themselves, who gave strict instructions to their representatives how to vote in the Diet. This was exemplified in the year 1839, on the question whether the railroad should go on the left or on the right bank of the Danube. But the reader must be cautioned against being misled by the term *nobility*; the meaning of that word in Hungary differs widely from that which is attached to the term in England. In that country the nobles were, in fact, all those who possessed the full and uncurtailed privileges of citizenship, and this in right of birth, not of property; comprehending not only many little cultivators who tilled with their own hands the plot of land they themselves possessed, or rented from wealthier owners, but even many who supported themselves by the very useful, though not very aristocratic, pursuits of butchers, bootmakers, tailors, and grooms. These nobles, setting aside other personal privileges which they enjoyed, were the county electors. The whole number of voters has been estimated at between six and seven hundred thousand persons in a population of fourteen millions.

of every pretext, such as a birth-day, baptism, convalescence, or a return home, to torture the ear without mercy.

This I often experienced; for we had three such bands, decidedly inferior ones, in our borough. Not content with fiddling alternately, they often met, and played, all at once, each in its own way a totally different air, and did not leave off this torture of our nerves, until ejected by the administration of some pennies—a specific far from infallible, unless accompanied by a peremptory order to go away!

But certainly the raven's croak is as little like the nightingale's song, as the ill-tuned noise, with which our gipsies inconvenienced us, resembled the tuneful harmonies of the Bunkos, Pityus, Biharys, Marczis, and Farkas of Győr. All of these were, and some are still, leaders of their musical bands and composers, or, perhaps, more accurately, rhapsodists of the ancient traditional melodies of Hungary. In our days, no one, perhaps, has more characteristically seized the spirit of this national music, than the Jew of Pest, Mark Rozsavölgyi. This man's talent delighted thousands of loud-tongued admirers; yet, alas, he died in the misery of destitution, almost starved to death.

The Hungarian gipsies still retain an Indian dialect—that of the Peninsula Cutch, I am told. But they do not seem to possess any memory of their Hindu worship, not even so faint a recollection as to awaken those natural religious feelings, the expression of which is a call of human nature. I have seen them baptize their children according to whatever religion the lord of the manor chanced to profess. A month seldom passed without my being asked to stand godmother to a gipsy child. Many of the tribe attended the ceremonies of our church, but without any sense of their meaning.

If to instil their own instinct of professional beggary into their offspring can be called education, they fulfil this parental duty to perfection. I do not believe they have any precise notion of *home:* at least, their wretched hovels bear no affinity to what this appellation conveys to our imagination. The gipsy quarter was of course the worst kept in the borough, where, from morning to night, no small portion of them crouched, resting their elbows on their knees, their heads inclined, their hair in wild disorder, a picture of listless idleness, under the crumbling roofs of their clay huts, where doors and windows were supplied by holes, airy enough, no doubt. To finish the picture, we must note the naked infants, huddled together in clouds of dust. I seldom remember to have seen other children associate with these poor outcasts. In mature life only the more intelligent of them, as horse-dealers, come into frequent contact with the Jew and the peasant. The peasants, however, never like them so well in that character—not even after having made a profitable bargain, which rarely enough happens, as the gipsies are first-rate

jockies—as when he calls to the musicians, "Húzdrá Czigány!" (Draw up, gipsy!) which means, "fiddle merrily!" Then pour forth wild and pathetic strains; the peasant leads his partner with solemn courtesy, and they dance, not only with the feet, but with the arms, the eyes, the whole features, in fact, with their very pulses. In their Csárdás (their national dance), they begin by meeting and retreating, like two gallant adversaries in the lists of a tournament; but when at last they join, they turn together with such swiftness as if carried off by a hurricane.

Music, tobacco, and wine, form the chief expenses of ready money with our peasant. On our estate, he was able to be very well off: he possessed from twenty to twenty-four acres of excellent land; but, proud of being an inhabitant of a város (borough), not of a village, he deemed himself a citizen superior to other peasants and their labours. He therefore kept a servant, or servants, according to his income; and superintended their work, by simply standing by and looking on with the pipe in his mouth, puffing out clouds of smoke. One business prerogative he kept to himself,—the purchase and sale of his cattle and grain; nor was he forgetful of the bottle during his trip to market; though he was often spared that trouble by dealing in his own house with the complaisant Jew. This comfortable master of a family only took care of his household, and never went out as day labourer. One class alone of the inhabitants of Szécsény, namely the Zsellers (probably derived from the German "Ansiedler," settlers), worked for daily wages; being possessed only of a house, a garden, and a small vineyard, which are not in themselves sufficient for the subsistence of a family.

Our manor extended over about twenty-four thousand acres, of which, twelve thousand were in the hands of the peasants, and the other twelve thousand under our own management—that is to say, not rented by farmers, but cultivated by our own agents. With this large sphere of activity, I did not practically meddle, having manifold indoors' occupations: nevertheless, I was highly interested in affairs out of doors. It was a recreation for me to walk about the grounds and visit the various buildings; in winter especially, the sheep-pens, and the place where the oxen were fed, adjoining the distillery of brandy.

We had six thousand sheep—not such stout ones as graze in Hyde Park and Kensington Gardens, but delicate descendants of the Spanish Merinos (transferred to Hungary under Marie-Thérèse) so justly celebrated for their excellent wool, on which account they are kept with great care. This care they well repay, as one mázsa, or hundred weight, of this wool is sold in the English market (under the name of "fine German" wool) for from £20 to £24 sterling.

The breeding of sheep, kept only for their fine wool, had during

the last twenty years very much improved in Hungary; Klauzál Imre, one of the best agriculturists Hungary ever possessed, exercised great influence on this branch of economy, so highly important to the Hungarian proprietor, as forming the most lucrative branch of his revenues.

In January and February, when the lambs were born, it was a great treat to go to see them with the children, who would gladly have joined their gambols, but could not follow with the same agility the bounds of the half-merry, half-frightened, newly-born ones, on which the light of the world certainly had no stunning effect. We were so fortunate as to suffer but little mortality among our flocks, owing in part perhaps to the care of the master shepherd, to whom a pecuniary profit was given, proportioned to the number of lambs he reared safely. This kind of premium has been adopted in Hungary on several estates.

The brandy distillery was a large building, where, from October to April, every twenty-four hours, thirty quarters of potatoes (of which a considerable part was produced on our own soil, and the rest bought from the peasants of the neighbourhood) were consumed in the production of spirits. The residue of the potatoes was used as food for the cattle, which were fattened for sale.

All these sights and manipulations, though instructive and amusing inducements for a winter walk, were soon forgotten when spring returned, and with life-giving smiles greeted the beautiful scenes around us. For the pleasure of roaming freely about, I then readily left the comforts of home, and the large warm stoves—less cheerful to the eye than the English fireside, but from its equable warmth more satisfactory to sensation. Below our park, my impatient steps, to which no green spot seemed too distant, were checked by the overflown Ipoly; the meadows in the plain were completely flooded, and I anxiously looked, day after day, to see whether the young crops had not been drowned in the turbulent inundations of that river; which, at other seasons, was often so provokingly dry, that the numerous watermills were stopped, and I was obliged to wait weeks for my flour.

In this season the state of the crops raised an anxiety about the favourable and unfavourable weather, which I always used to call the weather-fever. It began in spring, but in fact never ceased till the earth sank under snowy sheets into its winter sleep. Of this I felt the influence much more than of that other Hungarian fever, which has been represented as so noxious to unacclimated persons. Not a single member of our family was ever attacked by it; and so far as I have observed, this evil may in a great measure be prevented, by avoiding long exposure to the chill during sunset, when the formation of the dew causes a sudden fall in the temperature,

which may prove highly dangerous to unhardened constitutions. This treacherous chill is often followed by a night of southern mildness. Not less injurious than this atmospherical influence, is the immoderate enjoyment of melons, which grow in the fields in our neighbourhood almost as abundantly as the poppy, magnificently clothed with purple bloom. The cultivation of the latter plant is not carried on to a great extent, but sufficiently to supply the country, where, from north to south, the poppy seed dressed up into a pudding, *makos macsik*, is highly relished, and forms the regular Christmas dish. In Germany there is no Christmas without a tree; in Hungary there is none without *makos macsik*.

We often drove out to see our Puszták (farms). My favourite one was Bátka, which was rich in pleasant oak woods, presenting a romantic view of the ruin of Hollókö, beautifully situated on the top of a rock. This ruined castle was once the abode of the lords of Hollókö, a large domain of many estates, among which was Szécsény, now its superior. In the sixteenth century, Valentin Török was its proprietor who in 1540 victoriously defended Bude in the interest of Isabella, widow of John Zápolya, King of Hungary,[1] against Roggendorf, the General of King Ferdinand I. Török was subsequently taken prisoner by the Turks and confined in the Seven Towers.

At the foot of the ruin, in a narrow mountain pass, lies the village of Hollókö, entirely shut out from the rest of the world, and almost inaccessible in the rough season. In this seclusion live the descendants of the feudal garrison of that ancient stronghold, who are regarded as the best cultivators of fruit in that neighbourhood. Nothing could be lovelier than the fruit-trees, with their bunches of blossoms, exhaling perfume in the midst of this desolate spot.

The attractions of spring fade in turn, before the splendour of summer; which is nowhere more striking than in view of a broad, golden expanse of wheat field, spread as it were, interminably to the eye, over from one to two hundred acres. On such extensions a great many labourers must be employed at harvest, as the heat in this period is so intense, that if the ears are ripe the grains fall out within a few days.

The number of hands, in our part, proved insufficient to get in the corn as speedily as was desirable. We therefore took advantage of the peculiarity of the country—where, at the short distance of twenty-four English miles to the north of us, the harvest is a whole month later—and engaged the help of the Slovaks from that region, who readily came, accompanied by their wives, to earn in our service

[1] Both John and Ferdinand were lawfully recognized Kings of Hungary, one in the east, the other in the west.

provision for the winter. They were paid, not in money, but in the produce of their own work, receiving, for cutting and carrying the corn, the twelfth or fourteenth part of the whole crop, and for threshing it out, a second twelfth or fourteenth part. Although, on several well-managed estates in Hungary, the threshing-machine is in use, the people steadfastly keep to the flail; and in the lower countries, principally for wheat and barley, they retain the custom referred to in Scripture, "Thou shalt not muzzle the ox, when *he treadeth out the corn*," with the only variation, that instead of oxen, horses are allowed this benefit.

On an open space of ground, cleared and cleaned, the corn is heaped up in a circle: in the centre stands the peasant, holding in his hands cords for bridles to his horses, which are kept running round over the corn, and in this way tread it out more completely and quickly, than could have been done with the flail. As long as the harvest lasts, these Slovak reapers take up their abode in the fields. They receive a certain quantity of corn, meat, hogs'-fat, lard and salt, for their food: their women cook, and all are well off, in spite of the want of shelter. In case of very hard rain, they seldom fail to find a good-natured soul, who will share with them a covering roof.

On my first arrival at my husband's home, I did not feel comfortable when, half an hour before dinner, a whole unknown family came, with two or three servants. I had yet no notion how to dispose of them all, so as to make my unexpected visitors perfectly at ease. By a woman's instinct, however, I was aware, that confidence in oneself can alone supply the place of knowledge; so I tried, and was quite astonished before dinner was over to find myself and our guests in as friendly intercourse as if we had known one another for years.

Cordiality, that first-born feeling of a noble heart, which artificial politeness in vain strives to imitate, is so predominant with the Hungarians, that it is impossible to remain long a stranger amongst them. Their kindness calls forth so warm an attachment, their dignified hospitality, from the lord to the peasant, is so attractive, that one unconsciously accepts from, and offers to strangers, what in most countries is granted only to intimate intercourse. They never stand upon ceremony, but delight in being visited in a friendly way, and never regard distance, to acknowledge their satisfaction for such attention. This I experienced in days of happiness, as in long months of sorrow. One expression of hospitality alone I never relished—the long Hungarian dinner, which is almost everywhere equally tiresome, but never so prolonged as at the table of Ocskay, Bishop of Kassa (Kaschau), where thirty-six dishes were the order of the day, not served in the time-saving manner of "courses," but every one

handed round with due precision. Ocskay, however, was but an imperfect disciple of the late Raffay, Bishop of Diakovár. Once when this prelate suffered most surprisingly from indigestion, and his physician prescribed a severe diet, permitting him only thirty dishes, the patient earnestly complained that this was intended to starve him.

From the very first I protested in my house against such profusion, though the general cheapness of provisions rendered it a much less serious consideration than it would have been in any other country.[1]

The famine, however, in the winter and spring of 1847, after two bad years, made an obvious change—at least for some months—in these careless habits. Who could pleasurably have enjoyed luxurious meals, when thousands and thousands, accustomed to plenty, considered scanty supply downright starvation? This fearful calamity raged in some of the mountainous districts; but with us there only was a dearth of provisions, not absolute want. We naturally followed the general impulse to assist, and were so fortunate as to establish, during the whole period of the most pressing need, daily distributions of soup for five hundred people. We sought the aid, not only of all the housewives, with their kettles and fires, but likewise of all the priests and schoolmasters within our manor, to attend these distributions, and everywhere found the most kindly readiness. In our own borough everybody—friar, clergyman, physician, surgeon, trader, peasant, and servant—willingly assisted, not only actively, but likewise with their purse, however poor, in the good work. In our court-yard, one hundred and fifty persons, of all ages, met every noon at the boiling-pots; and it certainly did them all credit, that no serious altercation ever arose, though the gipsies were in assiduous attendance.

But much more difficult than affording this help, was it to persuade the people to help themselves. When my husband came to the peasants' huts, and, to induce them to work, offered them good pay for felling wood in our forest, he found them stretched on their benches, reluctant to speak, and it was not without much expenditure of eloquence, that he extorted the only answer he could get, "*Ehen vagyunk*" (we are hungry). We tried to satisfy them, and, after the meal, sent them to the woods: several, however, thought

[1] A pound of beef cost from a penny to two-pence; a whole calf from sixteen shillings to a sovereign; a fattened hog from thirty to fifty shillings; a goose from eight-pence to ten-pence; one pound of butter, hogs' fat, or lard, from five-pence to six-pence; a quarter of wheat from sixteen to twenty-two shillings; one gallon of new wine from four-pence to eight-pence; one gallon of old wine from eight to eighteen-pence. The first-rate wines, of course, were much more expensive.

it more wholesome to rest after dinner, and the attempt was thus frustrated. Not much more successful were my arguments with the Jewish women, whom I tried to persuade that their needles might be usefully employed, and that the little ones creeping round them would give them much less trouble, with a bit of bread to stop their mouths, than while crying for food. I did, at last, get the less inveterate idlers to quill feathers, but I could never induce them to make any greater exertion. The gipsy-women, on the contrary, when I once bought some sorrel (*rumex 'acetosa*) of them, culled and brought to me so much, that I could have fed cattle upon it.

At Christmas, all our servants' children, *hajdus* (bailiffs' and shepherds' included), from three to six years old, flocked around me—the little boys expecting to receive *csizmák* (boots) to walk into school, the little girls handkerchiefs and ribbons to dress them out for church. I thought it best, in that year of need, to celebrate the day of blissful record by dispensing to each of our hundred and eight peasants, potatoes and maize for seed (the latter being much cultivated with us), upon the stipulation that, after the harvest, when the price would be low, they should return to me the quantity so advanced. They all paid this debt, with few exceptions, even without being summoned.

What was my astonishment when, amongst the men assembled to receive the loan, I recognized one of our wealthiest people. "Why, Szenográdi," said I, "you surely don't want support."

"But, my lady, if I have been more industrious than the others, and have thus acquired a little, should I not share with the rest?" was his logical reply.

This man was a specimen of the class of old peasants, who have acquired a certain opulence, and on this very account delight in hoarding, and allow as little to themselves as to others. Their houses we find comfortable enough: the kitchens glistened with tin plates and tumblers; in the chambers are feather-beds piled up high; in their gaudily-painted *ládák* (chests) good linen sheets, with lace trimming. Their pantry, which consists of an immense trunk (*szúszék*), is well-filled with a stock of flour, lard, ham, and every necessary of the kind. Their cellar is provided with wine, and the ample tub with *káposzta* (pickled-cabbage), an indispensable ingredient in every Hungarian household.

But these luxuries are rarely enjoyed by the members of the family: they sleep on their small and hard wooden benches; and it is not until their lard has attained the maturity of three years, that they can be prevailed on to indulge in it. A wedding, a baptism, or the visit of a guest, must occur to relax this rigid economy.

The poorer peasant has seldom this taste for hoarding, and very rarely lays by anything. In consequence, during the year of scarcity,

in several counties, granaries were found most useful, though not always sufficient. Suitable buildings had been, in the course of the last twenty years, erected and filled with corn by voluntary contributions: under public regulations corn was lent to the needy peasant in the spring, with the obligation, on his part, to repay after harvest a ninth part more than he had received, which he could easily do, as the prices were highest when he obtained, lowest when he returned the loan. With this system conscientiously carried out, the original quantity of corn was doubled in from fifteen to twenty years, and the whole expense of management paid. Had these institutions been more numerous, they would have proved efficient blessings; but as they were established only by gift, and thus naturally confined to the more fertile parts, the destitute people of the upper country had no such resource.

Famine was soon effaced, but not the grateful feeling in the people's hearts: and little as benefits should ever be conferred with the expectation of acknowledgment, it did the heart good to meet such a requital. Every Sunday, after church—whither the people often walked from other villages of the manor, at a great distance—they always came to my husband with their complaints and difficulties, preferring his decision to the tediousness of an appeal to law. In one instance, however pleasant this confidence was, it could not be allowed. A peasant, who believed himself to have a claim to a piece of land, which came into our possession from the previous proprietor of our estate, resolved to institute a law-suit against my husband; but, instead of going to the Central-Court, he brought to the defendant himself a whole bundle of papers, and asked him to judge! Of course, my husband explained that it was impossible in a law-suit for one of the parties to decide in his own cause. The peasant shook his head, and remained of opinion that the grant of his request would have been the wiser course.

The Catholic school, adjacent to the Franciscan convent, was certainly little adapted to develop this, or any other good feeling, in spite of the active application of the rod. When this instrument was not considered persuasive enough in the hands of the schoolmaster, a written order was given to the culprit, which entitled him to receive his due amount of stripes at the Town-house, in which the executive power of the borough resided.

Against such systematic up-rooting of every sense of honour, I so earnestly and loudly protested, that the Guardian (Superior) of the Franciscans, who had the superintendence of that well-regulated institution for the education of youth, at last gave way. Anxious to make the best of this opportunity, we proposed to give the building-ground and materials gratuitously, for the very necessary enlargement of the school, and to contribute a fixed sum yearly to its

maintenance, if the community would complete the amount necessary to the purpose; reserving to ourselves the right of selecting our schoolmaster from among several individuals, whom the clergy and the community should propose. The Dean, who had the superintendence of the whole district, in clerical concerns, and in those of instruction, highly approved the scheme, and at my request, brought it forward himself. But the "Reverendi Patres," averse to any Protestant influence, as they themselves explained it, preached so cunningly on the popular topic of no-payment, that the design failed. Thinking that competition might prove of more avail than reasonable offers, we took to the measure of founding a Protestant school ourselves: and so perfect was its success, that there were soon more pupils—not Protestants only, but Catholics—than the room could contain, and the teacher, our clergyman himself, could attend to. After this, I again tried the effect of an appeal to the brotherhood, hoping that the dread of proselytism, as a result of their own stubbornness—however little intended by me—might now move them. And possibly our wish might have been realized; but, alas! the inevitable revolution broke up all such efforts and occupations; and I fear that Austrian centralization will be but little disposed to carry through my bill for the reform of public instruction at Szécsény.

CHAPTER III.

HUNGARIAN COUNTRY LIFE.

My mother-in-law lived in the northern part of the country, which was very different in its features from that which surrounded us. Her region was exposed to the dominating influence of the Carpathian chain of mountains, rough and stubborn, many of them rearing their snowy summits, the outline of which was softened only when the rising and setting sun spread a rosy veil over their angular brilliancy.

The wild mountains give birth to many mineral springs possessing medicinal virtues. We find on the Polish frontier the Baths of Bártfa (Bartfeld), which used to be thronged at the end of the last and the beginning of the present century. The war then raging over all Germany drove the gamblers from Baden, Spa, Wiesbaden, &c., to seek undisturbed recreation in that remote spot, which has since been again abandoned. Trencsin, Tapolesán (Teplitz), and

Pöstény (Pischtian), are now more frequented, especially the latter, as one of the most powerful medicinal springs.

But none of these has a situation comparable to the highly romantic position of Schmeeks. This Hungarian Gräfenberg excels its renowned Silesian rival in possessing the most magnificent mountain-scenery to be met with anywhere, and certainly deserves to be known. Except the King of Saxony, who was led thither in pursuit of his botanical studies, few foreigners have as yet enjoyed the strengthening water and the natural beauties of this attractive place. Not far distant from it is the Lomniczi-tetö (Lomniczer Summit), 8000 feet above the level of the sea,—the most elevated point of the Carpathians.

Hungary is in every direction blessed with mineral springs of all descriptions; but few of them can boast the privilege of fashion. Country-life is too intimately connected with the occupation and turn of mind of the Hungarian, the customs of hospitality bring him too incessantly into contact with his neighbours, for him to feel either the excitement, so often occasioned by continental winter-seasons in town, or the loneliness of rural seclusion; either of which might produce that over-strain of the nerves and depression, which, more than any other cause, peoples the watering-places with habitual visitors.

The stern mountains of the counties of Trencsin and Liptó, and the more softened heights of Hont and several districts of Zól, shelter the valleys of the Vág and Garam (Grán), both rich in varied pictures of lofty grandeur and smiling loveliness; both celebrated by the bloody struggles this year (1849) ensanguining their fields.

In the northern counties, the Sclavonic population is, by far, the most predominant. Amongst the western inhabitants of Moravian race, we likewise find descendants of the 20,000 Hussites, who, in the fifteenth century, fought under their leader, Giskra of Brandeis, against Uladislas I., in the cause of Ladislas Posthumus; and subsequently made peace with Matthias Corvinus (Matthias Hunyady), and settled in Hungary. Their offspring we also find in the counties of Nográd, Gömór, and Liptó. On the church-doors of these original Hussites is still depicted the communion-cup, the distinctive form of Calixtins, who maintained the primitive mode of the sacrament against those who withheld the lay-cup.

When, in the sixteenth century, the light of the Reformation broke through the mist of Middle-Age abuses, these Hussites, penetrated by the rays of truth, for which they were prepared, contributed, in great measure, to its speedy diffusion all over the Sclavonic parts of Hungary, wherein they likewise introduced the Bohemian translation of the Scriptures, valued next to Luther's version, and to that of the English, being accounted classical, not only for its faithful-

ness, but also for its style. The sermons of all the northern Protestant Sclavonians are delivered in the Bohemian language, which differs essentially from their usual dialects.

The counties of Szepes (Zipsen), Sáros, Abauy, and Zemplény are peopled by Slovaks of more Polish extraction. More indolent than those just referred to, they have, likewise, fewer schools; a point which may justly be made the test of vitality with all creeds in Hungary, except the Catholic. The schools of Catholicism, which is looked on as the State religion, are kept up by, and depend directly upon the Government; whilst the Protestants, Greeks, Unitarians, and Jews have to maintain their own churches and schools, of which they of course have the uncontrolled management.

The Government, on the other hand, insists so strictly on its supremacy over the Catholic institutions, that I know of several cases in which the well-meant attempts of Protestant proprietors were frustrated, who wanted to establish on their estates, at their own expense, schools for their Catholic peasants, requiring only the privilege of appointing the schoolmaster.

These instances of rigid intolerance seemed very odd in a country, where the right of patronage as to Catholic churches is on many estates vested in the proprietor, whatever his religion. His obligation of maintaining the church has been regarded as involving a right of appointing the person who is to enjoy the revenues.

The Sclavonians attach many a fantastic tale to their dark vales and rugged rocks, with many a peculiar turn of phraseology; yet they have no author, like Grimm and other Germans of his school, to point out traces of their ancient faith, in their tales, proverbs, and peculiar expressions. Here we can only notice, that most of their stories are connected with detached pieces of rocks in plains or dales (erratic blocks), and bear reference to the devil.

For instance, in a valley next to the mineral well of Czeméte, in the neighbourhood of Eperies (one of the chief towns of the county of Sáros), there is a quartz-rock with a deep hole in it, which was once gold, according to tradition.

A shepherd had sold his soul at midnight to the devil, for the price of a hundredweight of gold, to be paid down before dawn. Hardly, however, had the compact been made, and Satan taken leave, when remorse seized the unhappy shepherd, who, in order to save his soul, hanged his body. A few hours elapsed, and the devil returned, balancing the gold on his forefinger. But when, instead of the shepherd, he only saw the dead body, and found himself cheated as to the soul, he threw violently against the deceased the whole mass of precious metal; which instantly became transmuted to quartz, and still retains the impression of the devil's forefinger.

The story of the Castle of Lubló, in the county of Szepes, is still

more piquant. The proprietor wished to enlarge his castle; there was, however, one little difficulty—he had no money. At last he resolved to apply to the demon, and going to the "devil's stone," called on its patron, with whom he made over by contract all the souls that should happen to be in the castle at the moment when the key-stone would be inserted in the banquet-hall. The devil hereupon presented him with seven chests full of gold, and the rebuilding of the castle soon began on a grand scale. But not the devil's chests alone furthered the work; to the architect's great astonishment, the walls grew through the night, in ratio of their increase during the day. There could be no doubt, therefore, that the devil helped the work with his own hands; and as the extensive edifice drew nearer to its completion, anxiety pressed heavier and heavier on the heart of the proprietor.

It was in vain that he enlarged the plan. The castle was notwithstanding almost finished, and the hour of payment approached. The devil's debtor, in full despair, went down to the red cloister (still existing) and confessed his sins to the abbot, who naturally, before anything else could be done, took into custody the three chests of gold which he found to be still remaining of the loan, intending to release them by his blessing from the demon's curse, and to preserve them for the convent.

Then he sent to the castle a consecrated bell, with orders to ring it the very moment when the key-stone should be inserted into the banquet hall. Precisely at that moment, the devil was on his way, flying through the air with an enormous block under his arm, to crush his victims with. But the bell rang, and its consecrated sound paralyzed the fiendish power. The block tumbled down into the River Poprád, at the foot of the castle, and the devil, furious at the breach of the contract, cursed the unfaithful man and his descendants; who, in consequence, have ever since been wanting both in money and in credit.

The pecuniary embarrassment of the proprietors of Lubló, and the impression of the fingers of the demon in the block, witness till now, to the people of that neighbourhood, the truth of these legends.

Not less entertaining, is the story of the miller at the Branyiszko (a steep mountain path), who, when his mill had stopped, being overwhelmed with sorrow, at the prospect of starvation for his wife and children, plunged into the forest. There he met a fine gentleman, with a cloven foot, a red cloak, and a cock's feather in his hat, who promised to get him water for the mill, if he gave up an object he possessed without knowing it.

The miller (it is not doubted) recognized the gentleman; but, need proving more powerful than conscience, he acquiesced to the

proposition and hastened home. There he found the mill in full activity; and his mother-in-law met him joyfully, with the news, that his wife had happily borne him a son. The poor man was struck dead on the spot with horror. The fine gentleman soon came, and carried the baby away under his red cloak. For a long—long time, the little one's mother heard nothing about him, and mourned for him; till at last the tidings reached her, that her son, owing to his eminent education, had grown a doctor of laws and a mighty grand gentleman: *Minister of the Interior* at Vienna.

As in the north-west we meet inhabitants of Moravian race; so, in the north-east we see Ruthenians, who immigrated into Hungary from Lodomeria (East Gallicia) in the fourteenth century, headed by their Prince, Theodor Koriatovich. They are the most wretched of all the Sclavonians in those parts, as indeed the most lazy and ignorant. By creed they are United Greeks, but their clergy are little fit to improve them. They recognize the Pope's supremacy: yet they take and give the sacrament in both forms, and (from a desire to balance between the Eastern and Western churches) have surprisingly confused ideas on the question, whether the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father alone, or from the Father and from the Son (*Filioque*).

To marry once is allowed to the priests, but second marriages are forbidden to them.

Their Bible and liturgy are in the ancient sacred Sclavonic tongue, as it was written by their Apostles, Cyrillus and Methudius, who were also the inventors of their alphabet. The modern priests, however, little understand what they read in those characters, and often may be seen with the sacred books turned upside down before them, on the pulpit. The sheep of these pastors, never being troubled with schools, are as superstitious as under such circumstances is to be expected.

One of the most remarkable instances of that superstition, is the pilgrimage of the Ruthens in the county of Unghvár. There, over the river Latorcza, on a steep ascent, stands a Basilit monastery, to which every year in summer, the Ruthens come from afar, to obtain indulgences.

In great processions, with standards and songs, the different communities meet, assembling in long file on their way to the cloister. Thus they wander on to the top of the height, beneath which the Latorcza streams. According to the popular superstition, the indulgence is most plenary for those who first bathe in that water. Like the Greeks of Homer, they fancy that they purify themselves thoroughly, by casting their sins into the waves. As soon as the procession has attained the summit of the elevation, the songs cease, and a particular kind of steeple-chase takes place. The whole mass

of people presses down to the river; if one of the foremost falls, dozens of those crowding behind, tumble over his head. Screams, shrieks, and howls, pierce the air; and men, women, and children, in wild disorder, throw themselves into the stream, which fortunately is shallow. It is a scene that reminds one of paganism much more than of a Christian ceremony—a scene that seldom fails to occasion serious hurt or disease to some of the pilgrims. But all feel blessed in having drowned their sins in the Latorcza; most of all the monks, as, after the cold bath, the people, in wet garments, go into the convent, and there proceed from chapel to chapel praying, and leaving everywhere, as a pious sacrifice, small copper coins.

Different in appearance, language, creed, and development, as the lower classes are in the upper counties, yet the higher ranks I found there much the same as all over Hungary; with the sole exception, that the nobility in general, though poorer, have much more taste for ostentatious display than anywhere else. Sáros has on this account obtained the appellation of the Hungarian Gascogne. But in spite of this, the predominant cordiality pervading these regions, forms the great charm of social intercourse; and, not seldom, softens into good-humoured ridicule, that which, when allied to affected pretension, would have proved insupportable.

In that northern clime, wolf-hunting is no uncommon diversion with the gentlemen, and even the chase of the boar and of the bear is not unusual. In winter, wolves not only sometimes pay visits to lonely huts, but venture into the very vicinities of towns; such an event, however, never fails to create an immense uproar, which is not quieted until the inquisitive intruder has fallen a victim to public vengeance.

Sports, balls, weddings, anniversaries and improvised festivities; indeed, every and anything is a welcome pretext for incessant coming and going. But in fact there is no necessity for a particular cause to draw together people with whom hospitality is a religious feeling, a fundamental principle of their social state. No doubt, certain European conventionalities, of recent introduction, have already extended their influence over the land; which, however, still retains much that is characteristic of itself; and no doubt that improvements in the roads and means of communication in general, pleasant as they are to tourists, and useful to trade, are not favourable to the patriarchical customs, which constitute the bright side of feudalism, notwithstanding the striking oddities with which they are often blended.

Such were still to be met with in those neighbourhoods, about the commencement of our century. As one of the last characteristic Barons of feudalism, I may name the Baron Palocsay. On his manor he never permitted any of the County Officers to execute the decrees

of the County; but requested to have them immediately communicated to him, and always enforced them himself most conscientiously, even when they were against his own interest; but he jealously refused to allow any one but himself, to rule on his estates. As he spent immense sums on elections, and by his superb hospitality and beneficence, had great ascendancy over the County Officers, they often yielded to his feudal whims; as also, no less willingly, did his numerous guests.

From time to time, especially in winter, the castle, where the old Baron dwelt the whole of the year, being in a lofty and bleak situation, would chance to be without visitors. At this, his Lordship felt annoyed, and in such cases, habitually sent out in search of guests. His servants went to the high-road that leads to Galicia and Szepes, and when they saw a travelling-carriage, they forced the travellers to turn to the castle, where the Baron, without listening in the least to their protestations, entertained them for three days in the most princely manner, because, as he said, "The Hungarian has a right to keep his guests for three days: if they are willing to remain longer, it is a great honour to the host.

This notion many Hungarians still retain, even if they no longer enforce it as practically as the old baron used to do. Indeed, I know of the case of a Mr. S—— who, when once he came on a visit to a Hungarian country-gentleman, remained for seven years in the house of his host. This certainly was a little eccentric, but visits for several months are not unusual; and persons who come with three or four children, may be heard to apologise for not having brought with them the rest of their family.

Baron Palocsay's castle, however, never presented a more curious aspect, than every year in autumn, which, in the highlands, is the general wedding season with the peasant, who rarely enters into this auspicious state until after the harvest, when his most pressing labours are over.

At that season the Baron used to assemble in his hall all peasant-girls, from sixteen to twenty years old, and all the lads, from twenty-two to twenty-six, belonging to his manor; which had a Slovak population. He had them ranged opposite to one another, sorted them pair by pair, and said: "Thou Jancsi (John) art precisely fit for Marcsa (Mary); and thou András (Andrew), for Hancsa (Anne)," and so on. The couples thus designated went to the chapel, where the chaplain announced their marriages, which after a fortnight were performed, and every one of the newly married received a cow and many other accommodations for their establishment.

When, however, one of the lads objected to the choice made for his benefit, and mentioned his disinclination for Hancsa, and his preference for Ilya (Ellen), the Baron would reply that he did not

believe it, and obliged the lad, as a proof of his love, to endure twenty-five lashes. If he underwent this trial he was free to choose for himself.

This specimen of feudal manners died in the beginning of the present century. His son was extravagant in a different way. He was a conservative of the German school, but attempted nevertheless the boldest reforms in his rural economy, and spent a great deal in experiments. The grandson, the present Lord of the Manor, is the most perfect Anglomanist in Hungary, where, however, he has in this respect many rivals. His highest ambition is to be taken by foreigners for an Englishman.

An original of another kind was the old Count George Festetics, one of the wealthiest peers of Hungary, who lived on the Balaton (Plattensee). In his youth, while an officer of the hussars, he signed, in 1792, with the whole of his regiment, a parliamentary petition, which was disapproved of by the government; on account of which, he was for some time confined in prison. After his release he retired to his estates, of princely extent and management. He was not only learned, but also very clever; of a powerfully satirical turn, directed against all the world, which he disguised under the mask of politeness, united with the semblance of such perfect humility, as to appear at times awkward. It was never to be made out whether he spoke in joke or in earnest. As he despised mankind from the conviction that every one had a price for which he could be bought, it grew a mania with him to bribe every one, without any other aim than the satisfaction of knowing a person was under an obligation to him. This mania went so far, that he once attempted to bribe his king, the Emperor Francis himself.

The Emperor, on his journey to Croatia, spent a night in the Count's castle. The political offence had long been forgotten: Francis was gracious: the Peer received him with festivities, in the most splendid style. After the Emperor had retired to rest, the Count again presented himself before the lord chamberlain, requesting an immediate audience of the monarch. In vain did the chamberlain plead the impossibility of disturbing his majesty. The Count asserted his business to be of the highest importance; so that at last the chamberlain considered it his duty to tell the Emperor, who sent word to his host that he could not just then see him, but would be glad to hear what he had to communicate.

The Count then began to relate, in his most humble manner of unlimited devotion, how anxious he had been to prepare fireworks and an illumination for the reception of his illustrious guest: that for this end he had sat aside 100,000 florins, (according to their value in those times about £4,000); that however, the Eskütdt (police officer of the county) had interfered with the execution of his

design, because the thatched roofs in the village would have been liable to catch fire. As the 100,000 florins had been intended for fireworks, not as presuming to astonish his sovereign, but solely to prove the sincerity of his intention, he wished to request the honour of being allowed to burn the 100,000 florins in paper-money at his Majesty's bed-side; or rather as this honour could not be granted to him, he entreated the chamberlain to make it known to the Emperor, and burn the notes in his stead.

The chamberlain utterly perplexed at this strange demand, went to the Emperor, and gave an account of the whole affair. Francis I., for whom money had always a peculiar attraction, took it, and said, smiling: "the old Count is a fool, but we will not burn the notes." The Count had hit the right nail.

This strange proceeding of our feudal magnate, addressed to so exalted a personage, is certainly very striking. It may, however, not be quite uninteresting to note his equally original diplomacy with his inferiors and equals.

Once he was told, that an officer of his was very negligent, and was irregular in his superintendence of the workmen. The Count, to convince himself as to the accuracy of the report, drove at dawn to the officer's abode, whom, in fact, he found still in bed.

"I am sorry you are ill," said he with kind consideration, "what is the matter with you?"

The man not overjoyed at the unexpected honour of this early call, complained of head-ache. His lord assured him that warmth would prove most efficacious in his case, covered the patient carefully with a fur-cloak, and ordered camomile tea, which he diligently pressed on his victim; and then remained at his couch till noon, amicably talking about rural economy, without, however, forgetting from time to time to make kind inquiry after the sufferer's state of health, for which, on taking leave, he exhibited the greatest solicitude.

The officer, half-choked by the weight of the pelisse, and quite as much by his embarrassment, breathed freely, when relieved from this double oppression. But the evening of that very same day, so ominously began, brought an autograph letter from his patron, who expressed his regret at his officer's delicate health, that necessarily deprived him of the satisfaction he felt in availing himself of the eminent talents of so distinguished a manager, and as he was unfortunately not sufficiently strong for the fatigues of business, he dismissed him with the sincerest wishes for his recovery.

An insinuation of the same kind, quite as tartly administered and as delicately framed, was once received by Count A——, the Lord-Lieutenant of the county. To oblige this influential friend, our peer gave him a fine estate on a very advantageous lease. Notwithstanding

this, Count Festetics found for several years, that his interests were but little respected in the county. The roads that led through his estates were neglected; and the consideration of his affairs deferred. He, therefore, resolved to notify this to the Lord-Lieutenant, in his own peculiar way.

He sent for his solicitor, and said to him: "Go to Count A——, and tell him, we shall henceforward ourselves manage the estate he has hitherto had on lease. Count A—— will certainly ask you the cause of this change, answer evasively at first, and own but reluctantly, that you have secret instructions concerning this affair. He naturally will be desirous to know more. You will not comply, but assert, that your existence, your whole future welfare, depend upon no one's seeing the purport of your instructions. Of course he will then promise you the fullest compensation in case of my displeasure; after which, you will show him the following document."

Its contents were:—

1. "In spite of the kindness I ever have shown to Count A——, from his infancy upwards, in spite of the estate, which simply to oblige him, I gave him on lease, far under its value, I meet with such ungrateful, unjust, and selfish conduct from him, as satisfies me that he never has the least consideration for me, disregards my most equitable demands on the county, and thus neglects my business. On account of this ungentlemanlike behaviour, as he should either not have accepted my kindness, or should be more attentive to my rights, I have resolved to give him warning as to the lease, and take the estate again under my own administration.

2. "If my solicitor should venture to communicate this secret instruction of mine to any person whatsoever, he shall instantly be dismissed, and forfeit the income which I allow him."

Everything happened as Count Festetics had foreseen. After reiterated promises of compensation to the solicitor, he delivered the desired document to Count A——, who found its tenour very different from what he had expected, but could not help laughing at Count Festetics's diplomacy. He told the lawyer, he would settle himself everything with his Lordship, and set out directly for the castle. Festetics received him most graciously, and when Count A—— inquired, why he was no longer willing to grant the lease, Festetics replied: "Do you want to retain it? I readily leave it with you, I thought you were tired of it." He never had again cause to complain of the Lord-Lieutenant.

But the Count's irony never expressed itself more remarkably, than when he came into contact with a member of the Imperial family.

At the time when the Emperor Francis had given clear indications that he did not intend to assemble any more diets in Hungary,

the Palatine Archduke Josef called at Count Festetics's castle of Csáktornya, where its master welcomed him most humbly and offered to guide him through the ancient mansion, once the Zrinyi's abode.[1] He exhibited several family-portraits and historical paintings, till at last he stopped before a large picture.

"Imperial Highness," he said, in his mildest tone of unlimited submission, "this is the monument most worthy of notice. Pannonia and freedom uphold there a column, adorned by the crown of St. Stephen. The Bohemian lion in vain strives to upset it. In this corner is written the date, which points out to your Imperial Highness, that the picture refers to the glorious reign of Your Highness's ancestor, our never-to-be-forgotten King Charles III. as Emperor Charles III.

"This is an allegory, illustrative of one of the most striking events of that period. Your Highness is aware, that then also, the old scheme had been set on foot, of amalgamating Hungary with Austria; which at Court, was denoted by the expression, that 'the Hungarians must be fitted with Bohemian uniforms,' in remembrance of the Emperor Rodolf's master-stroke of policy, which in spite of all resistance, subjected the stubborn Bohemians to the central government. It is true that this was completely achieved, only after a thirty-years' war. That scheme we see here symbolized by the Bohemian lion, opposed to the column, which is intended to represent the Hungarian constitution. But the two genii, that support the column, are, as Your Highness perhaps may have noted, portraits of those charming friends, the Countess Strattmann-Batthyány, and the Princess Pignatelli, to the first of whom, Prince Eugene of Savoy, to the latter his Imperial Majesty could never refuse any request, and to whose united entreaties the Emperor yielded, regardless of his minister's advice, and thus remained true to the constitution he had sworn to uphold, and saved the country from a civil war.

"This picture thus immortalizes the exalted equity of Your Imperial Highness's great-grandfather and the well-known characteristic feature of your illustrious family, of benignant compliance with the wishes of graceful ladies. I do not doubt that this picture will meet Your Highness's approbation."

The Archduke took a pinch of snuff, turned to the window and highly admired the view of the valley. He knew the Count quite as well as the Count knew him.

[1] Especially a favourite abode of Nicholas Zrinyi, the greatest Hungarian hero, and the best Hungarian epic poet of the seventeenth century, the grand-nephew of the "Leonidas of Szigetvár." He met his death in the vicinity of the Castle of Csáktornya, having been torn by a boar, while hunting.

In Baron Palocsay and Count Festetics, we have two remarkably different types of the old Hungarian peers; of whom unfortunately none have survived. I may say "unfortunately," as they were not distinguished by their eccentricities alone. In the neighbourhood of Baron Palocsay's residence, wherever a misfortune happened, whether by disease, fire, or murrain, the old Lord's munificence was immediately exercised. Count Festetics still more grandly manifested his noble generosity and superior tastes. On his estate Keszthely, he founded an institution, the Georgicon, for all branches of rural economy. This establishment, of first-rate importance to an agricultural country like Hungary, was also highly prized in Germany. He admired, studied, and supported science and its scholars, while he himself was well worthy to rank amongst them. In such a Mæcenas, peculiar whims may not only be pardoned, but may be readily allowed as a privilege due to genuine originality.

While commenting on specimens of by-gone peculiarity, we have been unconsciously led from the colder regions, southwards, to the borders of the Balaton. We return to the north to view its towns, which are in general better built and include a more industrious activity, than the village-like boroughs of the fertile south. In those upper parts Kassa (Kaschau) is the largest and prettiest city. It is the chief-place of the county of Abaúj, and has a beautiful dome, finished by Matthias Corvinus, the finest of the very few monuments of Gothic architecture in Hungary.

Next to Abaúj is the County of Zemplény, rich with verdant dales, often submerged by the Tisza (Theiss). With the splendid hills of the Hegyalja, where grows the well-known Tokaj, it may be accounted the region of the most excellent vineyards in Hungary. That wine has its name from the borough, Tokaj, where the Princes of Rákoczy had their cellars; but the very best of it is not there, nor, as it is believed abroad, is it produced in the Royal vineyards of those vicinities, but we find it in Szegi, Keresztúr and Maád (small places), on the more carefully cultivated grounds of minor proprietors.

The preparation of that liquor requires and obtains the most anxious care. The vintage does not begin till the last days of October, as the sweetness of the delicious beverage, wholly native to it, depends upon the full ripeness of the grapes, of which a part *aszu szollo* (dry grapes), shrivel up into raisins on the vinestocks themselves, and are squeezed to a pappy substance. In this state they are mixed with the must at the beginning of its fermentation, and produce the exquisite wine.

Before the kingdom of Poland was dismembered, and still later before the prohibitive duties were imposed on Russian leather in Austria and Hungary—in consequence of which Russia greatly increased the duties on Hungarian wine—the vineyards of the Hegyalja

yielded large incomes. Since then, many of the possessors in those neighbourhoods have been ruined.

Máad has not only the best wines, but is also the central point of social attraction. Placed in a lovely dale protected by hills, its climate is so mild, that rural festivities are there often enjoyed late in autumn. I now remember, with the softened melancholy which is called forth by the retrospect on bygone joys and later sorrows, our gay entertainment on the height of the Király.[1] On the 31st of October, 1845, we sat there, enjoying the golden splendour of the transparent grapes, the skin of which is so thin, that they cannot be transported without being broken. The rich garlands of vine-branches, brilliant in autumnal magnificence, wonderfully contrasted with the vague outline of the wide view before us, which, covered with the dazzling veil of a hazy atmosphere, gave a dream-like aspect to the boundless plains on the opposite banks of the Tisza.

Next to us, all was life: the vintagers, almost as actively eating as gathering the grapes, and but little checked by the presence of the gentlemen, who diligently participated in both these occupations, and smoked no less diligently all the while,—the ladies busy with preparations for the meal, converting the wine-tubs into dinner-tables by covering them with cloths, plates, knives, forks, tumblers, and glasses, and transforming the smaller casks into seats:—the servants bustling and tumbling about, with furs and shawls to be used as carpets:—the vintagers' children lighting luxurious fires, supplied with wood profusely enough for a hundred fire-places. All this offered gay scenes of careless pleasure; but it was not until the dark-featured and silver-haired Marczi (the renowned gipsy leader) appeared with his band, and like a conjuror in a fairy tale, poured forth his charms in strangely expressive sounds, that the genii of joyful merriment seemed to awake.

Grapes, pipes, cigars, dishes, cloaks, furs, and wood,—everything was forgotten, and old and young danced around in an ecstasy of delight. But the whole effect changed again, as if by enchantment; every face grew solemn, every heart swelled with manifold emotions, when the national Rákóczy March proudly resounded, modulating into the softest expressions of grief at the reminiscences of exalted glory. At these familiar tones I saw a stern countenance bedewed with tears, which afterwards did not change at the roar of the cannons, by which so many dear to that patriotic and noble heart were destroyed. Ujházy at that time enjoyed with us all the blessings of patriarchal well-being; he is now an exile, driven from the country he served so well as civil governor of Komorn, and is wandering

[1] "Király" signifies King: the height of this name is one of the most renowned vineyards in Máad.

with his family to a transatlantic shore; not to rest his venerable head in quiet solitude, but to earn his daily bread by labour, and to prepare a new sphere of life for his numerous children.

Cheerfully as the days of the vintage were spent, the evenings did not prove less pleasant. The whole society met at animated balls, where the presence of many Poles was marked by the frequent repetitions of their graceful mazurka.

Even unfavourable weather, which is a serious calamity to the proprietors of vineyards, could not greatly dim the gaiety of that season. Bad as often were the accommodations of large families, with an unlimited number of visitors, people moved freely to and fro, invited one another, smoked, talked, and dined together, and thus, if not always amused, certainly were never dejected.

But what dinner-parties, and social meetings of all descriptions, are on the largest scale, no one can know, who has not been witness to congregations and county-elections.

As regards the congregations (county meetings) which generally lasted a whole week, most of the gentlemen came from their country seats to the chief place of the county; the ladies gladly accompanied them, no less to see their acquaintances, than to listen to the debates, which certainly may be considered as first-rate practices for young candidates aspiring to appear on the larger forum of the Diet.

In such congregations it was that I first was struck by the noble elasticity of the Hungarian language, which was quite as capable of expressing powerful thoughts of rigid logic, as to adapt itself to individual colouring of manifold feelings. In its character original, in its forms oriental, it is a mother tongue without children. Thirty years ago it was unfashionable in the drawing-rooms of Hungary; but then German was as universal an accomplishment as French has been, and is still in southern Germany.

The Empress Marie-Therese certainly contributed as much as she could to the expulsion of every national element, and to the introduction of foreign ones. Hungarian and Protestant feeling and expression were equally disliked and apprehended by her. Whenever she could, she attracted not only Hungarian aristocracy and wealth to Vienna, but also formed mixed marriages between Protestant Hungarians and Catholic Austrians; on which occasions she always used her influence to decide that the offspring of such unions must become Catholics. Whenever a wealthy young Protestant nobleman, of a more or less illustrious name, came to Vienna, he was kindly greeted at court, and, if possible, a wife was found for him. In what manner this was managed may be exemplified by the marriage of Mr. Cs——l.

This was a young man of moderate fortune, who came for his

amusement to Vienna, where several persons soon proposed to him to present him at court. He naturally accepted the offer. The Empress noticed him, and he received an invitation to the next ball at the palace. Unacquainted with the society, the young man sat down in a corner of the apartment to look at the dance, in which he took no active part. The Empress approached him, and asked why he did not dance, pointing out to him a pretty maid of honour, ready to be engaged as his partner. He complied with the command, and conversed amiably with the young lady, when the Empress again came up, and said: "I see he is delighted with Miss M——. I am highly pleased it is so. I must assist his timidity, and propose for him. I shall be the bride's mother, and in time his first child's godmother." (Marie-Therese spoke to everybody, even to her minister, Prince Kaunitz, in the third person; a familiar way, but wholly unused now).

The young Hungarian, taken by surprise, did not venture upon a contradiction, and accepted the lady. The contract of marriage was signed in the Imperial presence, and contained the condition that all the children of this union should be brought up as Catholics.

The object which Marie-Therese partly attained by female adroitness, her son, the Emperor Josef, certainly frustrated in a great measure by the violence with which he attempted to overthrow the Hungarian constitution, and to enforce on that country the German language. No doubt this called forth the steady resistance which marked the Diets of 1790 and 1792, in the same way as the attempt of the Emperor Francis to destroy the Hungarian constitution, gave birth to the consciousness of national strength, which has been so rapidly and grandly developed in every direction of Hungarian life within these last twenty years.

At present it is considered in Hungary, if not a shame, at least a deficiency in a son or daughter of that country not to speak its beautiful language, the accents of which act so powerfully on a people of poetical feelings and Oriental imagination. This was obvious at the county and parliamentary elections.

When the period of the elections approached, the whole of the nobility were in permanent agitation. The parties were assembled by their leaders. A ball, a sport, a birth-day, served as pretext, and whilst the younger gentlemen amused themselves, the elder ones sat together, calculating on the chances and probabilities of success. The number of votes were enumerated, to be gained by influence or money. A calculation of the expense was made, and a subscription opened to obtain the funds. Then began diplomatic arrangements to unite different interests, so as to satisfy the ambition of several candidates of the same party. At last the whole campaign was sketched in bold outline.

At dinner, where the whole party met, commonly from one hundred to three hundred persons, the result of the conference was published in a toast. The health of the candidates of that party was proposed, and the names of the members of the leading committee read aloud, from whom all the rest of the party had to receive directions. After dinner, a particular district was assigned to every influential and active young man, who was sent thither, supplied with money, and especially with a standard, bearing the colours of the candidate. At the same time the distinctive colour of the party was chosen, and put upon the hats. It was, however, habitual with one party to wear the green branch; and with their opponents the cock's feather; or a white feather for the liberals, a black one for the Conservatives. At other times it was a tri-coloured ostrich feather, in contrast with a red one, or a bunch of foliage, in contrast with the pine-branch.

A task of particular consequence was to get first-rate music bands and well-turned verses for the occasion. On the "Kortes," or peasant freeholders (*nobiles*), who had votes equal to all other freeholders, nothing, except plenty of excellent wines, produced so deep an impression as good music.

It was not a rare incident for a candidate to lose votes in consequence of the grater talent of the gipsies of his rival.

In all villages, where great numbers of peasant-*nobles* dwelt—who certainly were not morally improved by elections, the party-standard was exhibited every Sunday and holiday. The voters assembled, the bands fiddled, the big-bellied wine-casks were pricked, and dancing and feasting, intermixed with roaring "*Eljens*" (hurrahs!) accompanied the speeches that were delivered in honour of the candidate, commending his merits and promises, and not without a good share of abuse of the other party.

The candidates were usually obliged once to make a tour through all the places where they expected to find voters for them. With these they had to fraternize, by talking, drinking, smoking, and dancing. The candidates' friends, however, had still oftener to undergo these tributary pleasures.

The last days, previously to the election, were the most harassing. The money devoted to the purpose was almost always by that time consumed; more was wanted, the pretensions of the voters increased. Innumerable manœuvres were now tried, to gain over the opposing voters, or at least, to secure their neutrality by persuading them not to come to the election. As in most counties the number of voters amounted to from 1000 to 5000, it may easily be conceived on what a scale of magnitude intrigues were carried on, and how much money was lavished. But the head-quarters—the candidates' own houses, or the abode of some self-sacrificing friend,—were crowded above

all description. Visits, letters, summonses, political inquiries, communications of assumed importance, left to the temporary party-idol neither peace nor rest. Carriages came and went all day long, and processions of Kortes with standards and music appeared in the court.

All these were to be provided for, to be treated with amiable courteousness, and to be satisfied in one way or other, without the candidate committing himself to any one too positive a promise. Dancing was again of great moment; the ladies of the house often could not refuse a partner in the form of an influential Kortes leader. The whole household was disturbed by these merry celebrations of party excitement; for when the gay crowd approached, with the gipsies in their rear, there was no keeping any one back; the cook and kitchen-maids left the hearth, with their spits and pans in their hands; the housemaids, the rooms, with the shovel and broom; the footman, the threshold, with his master's boots; the butler, the dining-hall, with plates and spoons; the oven-heater, the chimney, with the fire-tongs; and all joined with their distinctive trophies in the general amusement. At last came the eve of election.

The voters in carriages, or on horseback, always headed by the leading young gentleman, filed, with hundreds of high-flowing standards, and loud musical and unmusical noises, to the County-House where the election was to be held. Adjacent to this, covered and uncovered spaces had already been retained for the convenience of the voters, where the whole night through they feasted, smoked, sang and danced. However, they were strictly guarded by the police of each party, anxious to prevent any such collision as might occasion disputes or blows, and equally careful that none should be induced to desert his ranks, for which end no bribery was spared from the emissaries of the enemy's camp.

On the following morning, all made their entrance into the County-House; the Lord-Lieutenant's speeches were little attended to. The candidates' names were proclaimed by thousands amid the shouts of other thousands, and the poll began. It was the custom for each party to vote in separate courts, in order to prevent confusion and possible conflicts; as a security against which, soldiers were placed between them. Yet this measure was always highly disapproved of by the public, who thought it an unnecessary intrusion to interpose a military force, though only for show, in their civil concerns.

But exasperated as these parties often were, before the votes were given, the passions soon subsided, when the majority had sealed the fate of the candidates. If but few votes decided it, then, it is true, a bitter excitement survived for several months, on the side of the defeated party. Some challenges and duels too, ensued, which how-

ever, never were dangerous, and always ended in perfect reconciliation.

As such elections regularly took place every third year, they naturally formed one of the most frequent and animated topics of conversation, and were to the young ladies and gentlemen, who were regardless of party-feeling, of the greatest interest, as no other year was so brilliant with parties and amusements of all kinds, as those which were enlivened by these contests.

CHAPTER IV.

VIENNA IN THE SUMMER OF 1848.

I GREW so fond of Hungarian country life, that I seldom abandoned it to visit Pest, still more rarely to undertake the longer journey to Vienna. There, nevertheless, I chanced to be in the winter of 1848, just when everybody was thunderstruck by the tidings of the February revolution, that had taken place at Paris.

My husband was at the time at Pressburg with several of his friends, who were deputies in the Diet. He returned to Vienna on the 1st of March; I received him with the news, that a revolution had broken out in Paris; he answered quietly: "I know Thiers, and Odillon Barrot are the ministers of the regency."

I replied, "No, a republic has been proclaimed, and a Provisional Government established; what do you say to this?"

He replied: "Next autumn our fields will no more be tilled by soccage; feudal institutions will disappear in Europe."

He spoke to the same effect with several persons; but in Vienna, the reasoning was considered eccentric.

I well remember an evening that we spent at the house of the late governor of Galicia, with the brother of one who has since been Minister. The French news formed the topic of conversation. The gentlemen expressed their apprehension that France would attack the monarchies of Europe. My husband thought, that there was no chance of this; that France would keep within her own limits; but that in Germany the thrones and the public peace were likely to be threatened. None of the persons then present gave credit to those words; a few days afterwards, a considerable excitement was observable in Vienna itself. Messrs. Schmerling and Bach, Barons Dobblhof and Stifft, Counts Breuner and Montecucculi, Professors

Hye and Endlicher, with others who have all since been ministers, or have held other high places in the Government, all loudly avowed their disapprobation of Prince Metternich's system. The Arch duchess Sophia, it was publicly asserted, favoured the liberal views of an Opposition, which, hardly noticed before, all at once appeared as a moral power.

The recent French revolution seemed to have dispelled all fear of the secret police; and the moment that people dared to express their opinions, it was obvious that the greater number of all classes were deeply averse to Metternich's depressive policy. Kossuth's speech in the Hungarian Diet, on the 4th of March, in which he openly declared that the Hungarian constitution never could be secure from the stabs of Austrian policy, until all the provinces of Austria should likewise enjoy constitutional guarantees, fell like a kindling spark into the already agitated minds of the Viennese.

Business recalled us home. We left Vienna the 9th of March, still without the least anticipation of what the ensuing days were to bring about.

On the 17th, my husband had to settle some affairs at Pesth, relative to our estate. On the evening of the 16th, a person coming from Pesth, spread in our borough the report of an insurrection in Vienna, of a general agitation at Pesth; manifested by crowds of people carrying banners in the streets. This was enough to hasten my husband's departure. At Pest he heard of thé revolution which took place in Vienna on the 13th of March; of Metternich's fall and flight; of the deputation from the Hungarian Diet to the Emperor, and its arrival in Vienna on the 15th; of the concessions granted in principle to this deputation.

In Pest itself a national guard was established, and the censorship of the press was *de facto* abolished. A great political agitation reigned throughout the whole city. A committee governed the town, and became the medium of understanding with the authorities. The national guards were actively drilled. In every street crowds were to be seen discussing political subjects, especially as to the emancipation of the Jews, and whether they should be received into the national guards. The German population were inimical to them, but the Hungarians had no such feeling; and, on the whole, the great majority of the younger men were favourable to their absolute emancipation.

This question at first created more excitement than any other. Suddenly the public interest took a different turn. The Diet at Pressburg had meanwhile steadily continued its labours, without being overpowered by the all-agitating commotion. In it the laws for the press were discussed, on the same principles as had been proposed previous to the revolution at Paris. It was intended to

retain the system of deposits, and allow a jury to assess severe penalties when they seemed to be deserved. At Pest these penalties were deemed excessive, and the difficulties that impeded the daily press, too numerous. And this was felt the more, that the Austrian provisional law of the press, which had appeared at this same period, though certainly more liberal, had, in Vienna, been publicly torn by the students; upon which it was revoked by the government, in alarm at this display of public feeling.

My husband was sent with a petition from the inhabitants of Pest to Pressburg, where he carried through the modification of the laws for the press. At the same time Count Louis Batthyányi, (then already named Prime-Minister, and entrusted by the Emperor with the formation of a cabinet,) learned from him the particulars of the agitation at Pesth. In consequence of this the Palatine[1] (Archduke Stephen, cousin of the Emperor,) was led to take measures for the maintenance of order.

In expectation of the new ministry, the old central authorities were no longer generally attended to: yet their successors could not actually enter office till the king had given his sanction to the laws which, according to precedent, was granted only at the close of the Diet. The Palatine, therefore, granted a Provisional Commission, entrusted with civil and military power, to uphold security over the country, till the ministry should be constituted, and step into its place.

The members of the Commission were: Gabriel Klauzál, (afterwards Minister of Trade); Bertalan Szemere (under Batthyányi, Minister of Home Affairs; and, subsequently, when Kossuth was governor, Prime Minister); my husband, and Paul Nyáry. This last, however, could not act, for as Al-Ispány (sheriff) of the County of Pest, he was more than sufficiently occupied in his large district, with executing the decisions of the trustees. He, never-

[1] The dignity of Palatine is as old as the Hungarian constitution itself, and cannot be compared to any of the dignities established in other countries. The Palatine is elected by the Diet for life. He is the President of the House of Peers, Captain-General of the country, President of the "Hétszemelyes Tabla" (King's Bench), and of the "Helytartó Tanács" (Home Office), Count and Captain of the Jazygs and Cumans, and Lord-Lieutenant of the county of Pest. If a difference arose between the king and the realm (*inter regem et regnum*), the Palatine was, according to the law, the mediator. If the King was a minor, the Palatine was his guardian. If the King failed to convoke the Diet, it was the Palatine's duty to do it. In short, the Palatine was to be the Warden of the Hungarian Constitution; hence, as often as the Viennese Government attacked the Constitution, it always began by leaving the dignity of Palatine unfilled. Thus was it under Rudolf and Leopold I., thus under Marie-Therese, under Emperor Joseph, and, behold! in 1848 again.

theless, often assisted at their meetings; and so did Ladislas Csányi, the highly-respected friend of all those gentlemen.

In how short a period have they all been overtaken by misfortunes. The first, confined to a bed of sickness, two exiled, one imprisoned; the last, as a martyr on the gallows, dying as he had lived, true to his fatherland and his principles. His name, in spite of all hired calumniators, will rank amongst the noblest sufferers for truth and freedom.

In the month of May, my husband was appointed Under Secretary of State in Vienna. Prince Paul Eszterházy was his chief in the ministry, which was appointed to mediate between the Hungarian and Austrian ministerial councils.[1]

But in spite of the continual changes, both of persons and of principles, in the Austrian ministry; in spite of the obvious and undeniable fact, that the Government in Vienna was subjected to numberless influences, from the "Committee of Safety," from the students, and from every agitator, who in turn excited the public mind;—yet the Austrian ministers assumed a tone of high superiority toward the ministry of Hungary. To the Hungarian communications they always replied evasively. When a commission met, composed of members of the two ministries, the Austrian member invariably declared, that he had no instruction but to receive the Hungarian proposal, and could not decide on anything. If, on the contrary, the Austrian ministry thought that it had any cause of complaint, then, without any previous notification to Pest, it had long articles on the subject inserted in its papers, and by means of its adherents in the Diet, who put leading questions to the ministers, it gained opportunities of so replying, as to damage the Hungarians. While in personal intercourse showing prompt civility to the Hungarians, the Austrian ministers still secretly supported the deputations of the Serbs, Wallachs, Croats and Transylvanian Saxons, in fact, of all who sought to annoy or disobey the Hungarian ministry. At first, it is true, the Court seemed to enter into the newly adopted system, and willingly to establish the Austrian monarchy on federative principles. According to these, the counties belonging to the Hungarian crown, were to have their independent ministry, and their own separate responsibility for Finance and War; the Austrian portion was to be administered by Austrians, and the third division, the Italian provinces, by a national ministry of their own.

Apparently in accordance with these principles, Jellachich, who in April had been instigated against the Hungarians, was in June officially disarmed. Moreover, Archduke John himself declared to the English Ambassador, Lord Ponsonby, that the Emperor was

[1] See Note at the end of this chapter.

ready to grant to the Lombards their national independence, and a federative constitution to the Venetians. But two things interfered with this scheme, the execution of which would probably have prevented two bloody wars, incalculable calamities, and the moral failure of the Austrian monarchy. The two things were—the Austrian debt, and the *esprit de corps* of the Austrian officers.

The German provinces, for which alone the Austrian debt had been contracted, feared the whole of its weight would fall upon them. Hungary had always protested, through its constitutional organs, against the reckless mismanagement of the Imperial finances, and had not partaken in the benefits of the loan. Never had a road, a school, or any institution been established in Hungary, from the funds of the Government; nor had the Hungarian Diet ever sanctioned the Austrian loans; on the contrary, it had repeatedly protested against them. Lombardy also, and Venice, had shared but little in the benefits of these loans: in fact, only in 1815 had these two provinces been joined to Austria, and, being rich themselves, they did not want any support from the central government.

Instead of a wise attempt to settle these questions by amicable agreement, the Exchange impatiently pressed the Ministry to force Hungary into union with the Central Power, and not to abandon its sway over Milan. The high officers of the army stuck to the interests of their position; well aware of the difference of their personal consequence in a constitutional realm, and in an absolute one. They wanted war, in order to retain their power, and to be revenged on the civilians, who had deposed them from a supremacy, to which, as they deemed, they had themselves a right.

Field-Marshal Radetzky, Chief Commander of the Italian army, refused to obey the orders of the Emperor to negotiate an armistice. He chose rather to expose the monarchy to dangerous chances. Much the same did Jellachich, and still more defyingly, from April till September, oppose himself to the Imperial command, under the pretence of saving the throne. But Radetzky, at Custozza, gained the victory; not over Carlo Alberto only, and Italian independence, but also over the unity of Germany, over constitutionalism in Austria, and over its tranquil growth in Hungary. From the date of that victory, the tone of the Viennese Cabinet decidedly changed. Reaction began everywhere; and so much the more, as the monstrous June insurrection at Paris had excited distrustful apprehension in all Europe amongst the holders of property. General Cavaignac, at Paris, then set the first example of a permanent state of siege. This suggested to the terrified Governments the possibility of uniting despotic and exceptional measures with constitutional forms. The disciples have certainly far surpassed their master. We see the theory of a state of siege now become a practical perpetuity

in Hungary. In that unhappy country, all law, civil and criminal, is considered void, and everything is administered according to the arbitrary pleasure of Generals, who have conquered for themselves as well as for Austria.

At the moment when the fortune of the Italian army turned, and the views of the Austrian Court and Ministry turned with it, we were residing in Penzing (a borough where many Viennese have summer abodes), in the immediate neighbourhood of the Imperial pleasure-grounds of Schönbrunn. I read and wrote, and the children played, until dinner-time, in the garden adjoining our house, whilst my husband was occupied with public business in town, whence Penzing was distant only two miles. At five o'clock he regularly came home, sometimes with friends whom he had invited to dinner. Most of these gentlemen were officers in the Hungarian Ministry, and resident in Vienna. Occasionally, whenever they happened to be in Vienna, there came likewise one or other of the Hungarian Ministers, as Count Louis Batthyányi, Baron Eötvös and Francis Deak. The latter, Minister of Justice, was the personification of logical equity and dispassionate virtue. I remember that all these distinguished men freely expressed the deepest sorrow that no longer could any doubt be entertained as to the intention of the Court and the German Ministers, not merely to repeal the laws and reforms of the last Hungarian Diet, but likewise to overthrow the ancient constitution and legal independence of Hungary.

Except the friends of my youth, we had few German visitors. Although the very same dangers threatened the recent institutions of Austria, which were insidiously undermining the free Hungarian constitution, yet the leading men of Hungary and Vienna remained personally strange to one another. The movement in Hungary bore a markedly distinct character from the agitation in Vienna and the provinces; and, in fact, the principles of the leaders in that country decidedly differed from the ruling notions of the Viennese.

In Hungary everything had the aspect of steady development. The Opposition had stepped into Government, and was pursuing the achievement of its well-known plans, so often expressed in the Diets, in the county meetings, and by the press. The French Revolution had occasioned no alterations in the programme of the Liberals. The cessation of soccage only, and the utter abolishment of the feudal system, were accelerated. But none of the leaders had the least intention to overthrow the ancient institutions of the country. No plots arose against the House of Peers; not even did new political personages supplant the old ones. Notwithstanding that the elective franchise had been greatly extended, the same men were elected as deputies, who had previously been known as members of Parliament, or as leaders in the Congregations. In Hun-

gary the events of March raised into power new principles, but no new order of society. In Austria, on the contrary, all development of political thought had been suppressed under Metternich; hence, when the commotion broke out, there was nobody to give a reasonable and practical direction to the enthusiasm of the people.

The few men known in the preceding period as Oppositionists, most of them retired civil officers; and officers of Metternich's time—the Wessenbergs, Pillersdorfs, Stadions, Schmerlings, Dobblhofs, Bachs, and Stiffts—formed, in fact, no other conception than that of liberal absolutism—"centralization and the reign of a refined bureaucracy." Ere long, they got at the helm of affairs. The kind-heartedness of Pillersdorf and Dobblhof soon subjected them to the sway of every public and partial agitation. Bach and Wessenberg, however, attached themselves to the military party, expecting to find in the superior officers what was wanting in the bureaucrats, depressed by Metternich's system, namely, energy, active intelligence, and subordination. Whilst Pillersdorf, by the aid of the theorist, Hok, was remoulding the Belgian constitution, to adapt it to Austria, and Dobblhof, with his vague optimism, had not even succeeded in giving shape to his ideas, Bach had invented some easily current expressions, with which he allured the mass of the public, until the time should come when he could unfold his real plans. The most effectual of those expressions were: "Die Gleichberechtigung aller Nationalitäten" (the equality of rights of all nationalities); and, "Das democratische Kaiserthum auf der breitesten Basis" (the democratic empire on the largest basis). By the first of these phrases, the Sclavonic, by the second the German revolutionary party was attracted towards the ministry; at the same time, both of these phrases were directed against the independent kingdom of Hungary. Prince Metternich had already steadily tried to use the Croats as a political counter-balance against the Hungarians. This, added to Russian machinations, and Polish fantasies (which, though arising from different views, yet tended to the same end), rapidly spread the idea of "Panslavism" (the political union of all Sclavonians). In consequence of this, when in March the old Austrian system fell to pieces, all the Sclavonians, Croats as well as Bohemians, trusted that Austria could only be reconstructed as a Sclavonic power. They relied upon their numerical strength, neglecting to observe that the majority of their number were in civilization, wealth, and political consequence, inferior to the other races, and on this account, could not yet attain political ascendancy. The ministry gave the most brilliant promises to Jellachich and his Croats, to Rajacsics and his Serbs, no less than to the Bohemians. All these believed Bach and his followers

to be as enthusiastic for the Sclavonic cause as they were themselves.

It is one result of the long prostration, which, at least in Austria and Hungary,[1] this manifold race has suffered, that it has no national aristocracy. In consequence, the Sclaves or Sclavonians became the most passionate democrats. They hated aristocracy, and objected to the institution of a House of Peers, well aware that in Austria all the Peers would necessarily be Germans. On that point they were supported by the German democrats, whose aversion to aristocracy was so predominant, that it made them forgetful of the German question itself, and also kept them estranged from the Hungarians, because these were not willing to destroy nobility. Under the guidance of such notions, the Viennese Diet presented a strange aspect. Not a single military officer had been elected; the aristocracy occupied hardly any place there, the Galicians alone had sent several titled nobles; few lawyers were seen on the parliamentary benches; some higher civil officers, no banker, no rich merchant, and only a few first-rate manufacturers. But for contrast, many peasants, who neither could write nor read, from Galicia and the Bukovina, all more or less tools of Count Stadion.[2] There were several professors, a good many physicians, subordinate civil officers, and young men who had no definite vocation. The whole exhibited a picture of the discordant state of the monarchy. Count Stadion with his peasants, who did not understand German, but voted nevertheless, attracted one by one the ambitious members of the Assembly, as they considered him the future minister. Rieger, a most influential man among the Sclavonic Bohemians (Csech), together with his whole party, supported the ministry, in spite of theoretical liberalism, and even republicanism. But forms of government were with them secondary to questions of race. Their first aim was to

[1] When I speak of the Sclavonic races in Austria and Hungary, I never mean to include the Poles, who had developed, and have preserved as distinct a nationality, both political and literary, as any of the more fortunate European nations.

[2] Count Francis Stadion had been Governor of Trieste, afterwards of Galicia. In both places he had expressed liberal opinions, and had opposed the policy of Prince Metternich; but had, nevertheless, proved tenaciously bent upon the theories he had adopted. In May, 1848, Count Stadion resigned his position of Governor in Galicia, and was there elected deputy for the Viennese Parliament. In November, after the Viennese Revolution, he was appointed Minister of the Interior, and planned the Constitution of the 4th of March, 1849, designed to be the basis of centralized Austria. Subsequently he opposed the Russian intervention (which the Minister Bach, particularly supported), and soon afterwards became insane The title of Minister was still granted to him, in spite of his hopeless state, on account of which he was conveyed to Gräfenberg.

turn Austria into a Sclavonic empire, in which the ruling majorities and ruling characters should be Sclavonic. They were joined by the Polish factions of Prince Lubomirski and Count Potocki, who were so absorbed in the vision of a great Panslavic state, as utterly to forget Polish nationality. On the contrary, Count Borkowski, Sierakowski, and their friends, wanted to remain Poles. These were pretty good constitutionalists, but not the best Austrians. The physician Löhner, and the bookseller Borrosch, were, I think, the noblest characters in the Viennese Diet; but both, unfortunately, great theorists. Never having had experience in practical life, they proved incompetent to form a considerable party. Disinterested enthusiasts, and well-meaning dreamers in politics, alone rallied around them. Schuselka afterwards joined them, a man neither profound nor unpretending, but on this very account rather the more influential over his more modest friends. Before the Diet was constituted, Drs. Fischof and Goldmark, both physicians, and both by birth Hungarian Jews, also a third Hungarian born, Dr. Freund, by their eloquence and activity, were become popular names in the Committee of Safety. The two first, however, never attained any marked authority in the Diet, and the last was fully engrossed by the Gemeinde-Rath (Common Council). More prominent than these was Dr. Tausenau, who by his uncommon eloquence acquired in September considerable influence in Vienna.

We had acquaintance with but very few of these gentlemen. My husband had little trust in the stability of the Viennese affairs, and often lamented the unpractical aims of the leading men. Tausenau he had never seen in Vienna, but first made his personal acquaintance in Pressburg, at the end of October. Of the others, he sometimes saw Count Stadion, Fischof, Goldmark and Freund. Löhner dined once with us. In spite of this, the adherents of Bach (when the ministry threw off the mask, and declared their enmity to Hungary) busily asserted, that my husband had originated the Viennese Opposition. The whole fact was, that he had once communicated to Löhner some documents, which proved that the Austrian ministry supported the Croats against Hungary.

If a practically energetic man had been allowed to lead the Opposition in the Viennese Diet, they would not have wasted months in discussing theoretically fundamental rights, but would have examined forthwith the state of the finances. Hereby the Government would have been compelled to a course, not conducive to war and military rule, but to peace, reform, and a sound system of economy. But the Viennese were misled by the example of the Frankfort parliament. Here, as there, fundamental rights were brought forward; the seat of the practical legislator was turned into a professor's chair, from which lectures were delivered, concerning maxims of state and

laws of nature. The fruit of it all has been—a series of dissertations on the rights of mankind, followed by their practical commentary,—military dictatorship, a permanent state of siege, and courts-martial.

Whilst we lived retired at Penzing, we but seldom drove to evening parties in Vienna; and there we met only our friends and acquaintances of old date. Meanwhile, the communications between the Hungarian and Austrian Ministers became more and more uneasy. The language of the Austrian Ministers daily assumed a more imperative tone. And when my husband, by the order of the Hungarian ministry, renewed in August his attempts at conciliation, Baron Dobblhof, then minister of the Home Affairs, told him: "that the Austrian Ministers were just then preparing an official document, in which they would so fully clear up their relation to Hungary, as to enable the Diet to form a correct view on the subject." My husband naturally requested the communication of this document, previous to its publication, in case incorrect data should happen to slip in, which it might be desirable for him to point out. Baron Dobblhof promised to communicate it, but kept his word as little as Baron Wessenberg, who had promised the same to Prince Eszterhazy. On that occasion, the conversation naturally turned on the relation of Hungary to Austria, and on the basis of the future stability of the Monarchy. Dobblhof philosophically observed: "Hungary must be in the same relation to Austria, as the German Austria must be to Germany." My husband related to me, with a smile, this delicate philosophy of the Home Secretary. With the well-known honesty of Baron Dobblhof, it was not to be presumed that he acted a diplomatic part, with the aim of deceiving the Hungarian ministry. In fact that could not possibly have led to any end. Therefore, it seems, that in August, Baron Dobblhoff was not yet initiated into the plans formed by Bach, Latour, and Wessenberg, aided by the military party. These three alone were the ministers connected with the court. Baron Dobblhof, though officially entrusted with the Home Affairs, Mr. Schwarzer, with the Public Works; Hornbostel, with Trade—were ministers merely in name. They had no direct intercourse with the Court, and the other members of the Cabinet just used them or dropped them at pleasure. Baron Kraus, on the other hand, the Minister of Finance, was so fully occupied with the financial embarrassments, that he did not take part in the details of the political intrigues.

At this time the Hungarian Diet had unanimously voted a large recruitment in the country, and the budget for 1848 and 1849. The Diet had been convoked so early as the 2d of July, for the purpose, as said by the Royal speech (which the Archduke Stephen read in the King's stead), of enabling the Government to crush the

insurrection of the Serbs in the Banat and the Bacska, and to confront the threatening posture of Croatia. The ministers, Count Louis Batthyányi and Francis Deák, came in the last days of August to Vienna, with these Bills, to get them sanctioned by the King. He received them according to his wont, and told them to apply to Count Latour, who would communicate to them His Majesty's views. When they addressed themselves to the Count, he replied, that if the Hungarian ministers wanted anything of his Cabinet, they should apply to Baron Wessenberg, the Prime Minister. Count Batthyányi proudly answered, that he wanted nothing of the Cabinet; but by the order of the Emperor-King he had applied to Count Latour, from whom he solicited no advice, but simply the communication of his Majesty's views. To this note, Count Latour made no reply whatever, nor did the Emperor deign any further answer to reiterated applications. But suddenly a courier from Fiume brought the tidings that the Croats of Jellachich, on the 1st of September, had occupied that town and its free-port, in the name of the Emperor of Austria and King of Croatia; that they had established new authorities and had driven away the Governor, and the officers whom the Emperor, as King of Hungary, had himself appointed. Almost simultaneously Klauzál, the Hungarian Minister of Trade, wrote from Pesth to the Prime Minister, Count Louis Batthyányi, then at Vienna; that with an autograph letter, the Emperor had sent to the Archduke Stephen, a long official document of the Austrian Ministers, in which they tried to prove, that the King had not had the right to grant to the Hungarians a ministry of their own; and at last had arrived at the conclusion, that the finances of Hungary, its army, and the administration of the military frontier, must be committed to the Austrian Ministries of Finance and War." The Emperor observed, in his autograph letter, that he agreed in his Austrian ministers' opinions.

To the Archduke Stephen, a document so utterly unconstitutional in its conception seemed embarrassing. The Austrian ministers obviously had availed themselves of the Emperor's condition of mind to persuade him, by their partial representations, to sign the document, without listening to the Hungarian Ministers; and therefore, without understanding the rights of the Hungarians, or the real state of things. But what should be done with it? was the great question. The King being personally irresponsible, certainly cannot send to the Diet a message not countersigned by a responsible minister, and directly impugning the legitimate authority of the Crown. For in this message, the King expressed himself that "he had not had *the right* to sanction the propositions of the Hungarian Diet!" What then is the authority, superior to the constitutional King? And what right is higher than the Constitution? Where

are the treaties subordinating the Hungarian Diet to any other power than the Constitution? If the King is dissatisfied with his Ministry, he may dismiss it. In that message, however, he found no fault with it, nor yet with the Diet; but advanced an objection, which, if valid, overthrew the whole Hungarian Constitution. All these questions arose in the conferences held on the subject of this strange message. The Diet, however, resolved to follow the most direct line, and to send a deputation, from both houses, to Schönbrunn, openly to ask the King, whether he recognized the laws of 1848 as binding or not? They were also directed to specify the points, in regard to which some definite assurances from his Majesty were necessary to tranquillize the minds of the nation.

The deputation came to Vienna. The address that was to be made by the President of the Hungarian House of Deputies, was previously communicated to the Austrian Prime Minister, Wessenberg. He proposed some modifications, which were accepted. Finally, he handed to the Hungarian Ministers the reply which the King would give, and which in spite of several evasive and unprecise expressions, was considered satisfactory, in so far as the Sovereign once more declared, "that he would sacredly preserve the laws he had sworn to, and the integrity of Hungary." Thus all the deputies hoped an understanding to be still possible.

On the 9th of September a solemn audience was to be given them at Schönbrunn. Hundreds of Viennese came there to see what was going on, as the Hungarians had of course preserved silence as to their transactions with Wessenberg. I likewise walked over to Schönbrunn: for two days my husband had almost always been absent from me. The deputation had been appointed for eleven o'clock; Count Batthyányi, who was to introduce it, paced impatiently to and fro in the court of the residence. No chamberlain appeared to lead him into the hall, but the deputation also delayed. Not till one o'clock did the long file of carriages arrive. But instead of the brilliant national costume, every one of the hundred deputies was clad in black; they all appeared preoccupied, and agitated; for while they were assembling in the hall of the Hungarian Ministry to proceed to the Monarch, a newspaper had arrived from Agram, in which Jellachich published an autograph letter of the Emperor, dated the 4th of September, which reinstated him in all his dignities and offices, approved his acts, and expressed the imperial satisfaction at his faithful adherence to the throne. The deputation hardly could believe this. How could the contents of this letter be reconciled with the assurance, which in a few moments the King was to reiterate to his faithful Hungarians: "that he would sacredly preserve the laws he had sworn to?" So obvious a contradiction was utterly incomprehensible. My husband therefore instantly went with the newspaper to

Baron Wessenberg, whom he found confined to bed; and asked whether this document was authentic, and how, if it was so, it could be reconciled with the royal answer to the deputation, which the Baron himself had communicated to the Hungarian ministers? Wessenberg assumed the guise of great indignation, with such perfect appearance of truth, that it fully deceived my husband. The Prime Minister assured him, that neither he nor the Austrian Ministerial Council knew anything about this autograph letter of the Emperor, that certainly the Camarilla deceived the monarch,[1] and would still occasion the greatest dangers to the throne. Therefore no great importance should be attached to the letter, which the Austrian ministry disapproved.

The Hungarians at once discerned that the annihilation of their independence was aimed at. This was obvious. Wessenberg had denied his acquiescence in the document, but had not doubted its authenticity. The reply, therefore, which the King was presently to give to the deputation, could only be considered as a deceitful comedy. It was proposed by some not to go at all to Schönbrunn.

[1] On account of the well-known imbecility of the Emperor Ferdinand, his uncle, Archduke Lewis, had governed alone from 1834 until 1848; even Metternich's policy reigned only in accordance with the Archduke's views. When the Archduke was obliged to leave Vienna in May 1848, the persons next to the Emperor seized the reins of the Government, the more so, as all those who surrounded him had no reliance in the Ministers Pillersdorf, Dobblhof, &c., and likewise kept these gentlemen distant from the Court. The Emperor's state of health was always a sufficient excuse for every chamberlain to deny, even to the Ministers, access to the Monarch. Hence, even the most decisive measures were taken without the knowledge of the Ministers: for example, the flight to Innspruck, on the evening of the 16th of May, was communicated only the ensuing morning by the First Lady of the Bedchamber to the Prime Minister, Baron Pillersdorf. The restoration of Jellachich to all his dignities was, by the voice of the public, attributed to the Archduchess Sophia. That the Emperor was always in bondage to such influences, was known by every one, and the "Camarilla" (back-stairs cabinet) excited general disapprobation. But it would give a false notion to imagine, that there were certain persons, always the same, who, with definite design and consequence, planned and carried through reactionary plots; on the contrary, those who just chanced to be at Court gained influence. The best influence was exercised by Archduke John, but he soon left for Frankfort. When Archduke Stephen and the Hungarian Ministers came to Court, they found compliance with their propositions, although reluctantly. Jellachich, no doubt, was received more favourably. The energy of the Archduchess Sophia certainly acted most powerfully, and no less the idea of those, who incessantly surrounded the Emperor, as the aides-de-camp and the chamberlains. The views often expressed by officers, who came from the Italian army with despatches, likewise did not fail of effect; but for the most part the Ministers Wessenberg and Latour, in the last instance decided. The Empress Mariana, wife of Emperor Ferdinand, took no part in these intrigues; pious and retired in her manner of life, she only cared for the Emperor's health.

The majority however decided, that the ceremony was to be gone through; though not one could cherish the illusion, that it was not utterly void of meaning.

At one o'clock the deputation went to the hall of audience, where the Hungarian noble guard was in attendance. The President of the Hungarian Diet, Mr. Dionys Pázmándy, stepped forward and pronounced the following speech:

"In the names of the United States of Hungary and Transylvania, we appear before your Majesty. With our constant loyalty, tried for centuries, we claim the support of our crowned King for the inviolate preservation of the rights of the country.

"A Ferdinand was the first of your Majesty's house, on whose brow Hungary placed voluntarily its holy crown. Transylvania did the same for Leopold I. Hungary is not a conquered province; it is a free country, whose constitutional rights and independence your Majesty has secured and sealed by the inaugural oath. The laws, which your Majesty on the 11th of April of this year sanctioned with your benignant approbation, only fulfilled the long-cherished wishes of the Hungarian nation. With gratitude, and with a vigour doubled by the extension of freedom, this nation was ready, with unaltered attachment, to shield the throne of your Majesty against the dangers which from more than one side threatened it.

"But now several parts of the kingdom are disturbed by a rebellion, whose leaders plainly assert that they rise in the interest of the reigning house, and are rebels in your Majesty's name, against the freedom and independence, which your Majesty lawfully guaranteed to the Hungarian nation.

"One part of the Hungarian army sheds its blood in Italy, for the interests of the monarchy, and reaps there, on every battle-field, laurels of triumph; whilst another part of the same army is being instigated to refuse obedience to the legal government of the kingdom.

"This sedition in the lower parts of Hungary is reducing peaceful villages to ashes, and causing the massacre of innocent children and women in a more than barbarous manner. At the same time, a rebellion from Croatia threatens Hungary with hostile invasion, and, without any cause, has occupied the Hungarian port of Fiume, and the Sclavonian counties. The moving power of these seditions can be no other than the attempt of a reactionary party to destroy the consistency and integrity of Hungary, to annihilate the freedom of the nation, and to cancel the laws sworn to by the ancestors of your Majesty and by your Majesty yourself.

"Called upon by your Majesty to provide for the defence of the country, the Hungarian Diet assembled two months ago. This Diet now requests your Majesty to support it with the whole weight of

your sovereign authority in the grand task of preserving the country unimpaired, which is identical with the unimpaired preservation of the royal throne itself.

"In consequence of this, we address to your Majesty, in the name of the Hungarian nation, the following request:

"1. That your Majesty will command all those Hungarian regiments at present not opposed to the enemy, to march to Hungary without delay, there to fulfil their duty of defending the country bravely and faithfully, according to the order of the Hungarian ministry.

"2. That your Majesty will, by threatening the forfeiture of your sovereign bounty, as also lawful punishment, command the army which is already in Hungary, punctually to fulfil its duty of defending the country, and maintaining the rights of the Hungarians against the seditious, whatever standard and whatever name they may usurp.

"3. Whatever questions still remain undecided between the Hungarian and Croatian nations concerning nationality and administration, all these it is the firm purpose of the Hungarian nation, in this present Diet, to decide on the basis of equality, fraternity, and freedom, as also in accordance with the Constitution, which we possess in common. Croatia is now subjected to military despotism, and by this the citizens of that country are hindered from laying their lawful desires before the Hungarian Diet. May your Majesty, therefore, set the Croatian nation free from that despotism, and command the immediate restoration of Fiume and of the Sclavonic counties.

"4. The Hungarian nation entertains no doubt that your Majesty will not only frustrate the attempts of the reactionary party, which aims only at its own personal gain, but likewise will cause those to be punished who deserve it.

"5. The Hungarian nation further requests, that your Majesty will sanction with your sovereign approbation, the Bills which the Hungarian Diet has passed. Further, that your Majesty will come to Buda-Pest, in the midst of your people, to support and direct by your illustrious presence, the measures of your Diet, and of your constitutional government.

"Sire! the present moments are of so weighty an importance to the Hungarian constitution, that the loyal nation must dread more than ever, the dangers of delay.

"With the loyalty of faithful subjects we therefore entreat your Majesty to comply with our requests, and most especially to come to Hungary without deferring. We entreat this, with so much more energy, as we are deeply convinced of the pernicious effects of delay. If our entreaties are disregarded, the public trust will be shaken in the Hungarian ministry of your Majesty, and the ministry

will thus be paralyzed in the application of lawful means, to uphold order and restore peace.

"On the immediate decision of your Majesty it depends to avert incalculable dangers. May your Majesty support us with the weight of your sovereign authority, and thus assist the deliverance of the country! and the Hungarian nation will ever faithfully stand by the throne of your Majesty."

The Emperor thereupon, from a paper he held in his hand, read his speech with faltering accents. It said:—

That he *would sacredly maintain the laws he had sworn to, and the integrity of the country;* that, if he did not sanction the Bills now offered to him, for raising troops and money, it was only because, in the shape in which they had been proposed, they would not prove to the benefit of the country; and that the delicate state of his health did not permit him to proceed immediately to Hungary, into the midst of his faithful subjects.

When the Emperor had concluded, the deputation bowed, but no *Eljens* (cheers) were to be heard. In silence the representatives of the Hungarian nation took their leave. As they descended the steps, the noble guards said: "As soon as necessary, we shall all come to Hungary."

My husband, as he approached me, observed: "This was the most lamentable leave-taking, with which ever a monarch dismissed his supplicating people."

We returned home, and heard, that on their drive back to Vienna, most of the deputies had mounted the red feather on their black hats, and had directly proceeded to Hungary, on the steamboats, which awaited them in the Prater. In the distance the Hungarian tricolour-standard had disappeared, and the red one alone was still to be distinguished.[1]

[1] The Hungarian colours are those of the theological virtues: "Love, Faith, and Hope," "Red, White, and Green;" the same as the Italian colours. The Croatian "Tricolour" is the same as the French. The red colour alone means war.

As a comment on this and the following chapters, the following list of the Austrian and Hungarian Ministers, in the course of the years 1848 and 1849, is added.

IN VIENNA.

IN MARCH, 1848, PREVIOUS TO THE REVOLUTION.

PRINCE METTERNICH, Chancellor of State, Minister of Foreign Affairs, and President of the Council.
COUNT KOLLOWRAT, Minister of Home Affairs.
COUNT SEDLNICZKI, Minister of Police.
BARON KÜBECK, President of the Treasury.
COUNT TAAFFE, President of the Board of Justice.
COUNT HARDEGG, President of the Board of War.

AFTER THE REVOLUTION IN MARCH.

COUNT FICQUELMONT, Foreign Affairs.
COUNT KOLLOWRAT, Home Affairs.
BARON KÜBECK, Finances.
COUNT TAAFFE, Justice.
GENERAL ZANNINI, War.
BARON PILLERSDORF, Public Instruction.

IN MAY.

BARON WESSENBERG, Foreign Affairs.
BARON PILLERSDORF, Home Affairs.
BARON KRAUS, Finances.
BARON SOMMARUGA, Justice.
COUNT LATOUR, War.
BARON DOBBLHOF, Trade.
M. BAUMGARTEN, Public Works.

IN JUNE.

BARON WESSENBERG, Foreign Affairs.
BARON DOBBLHOF, Home Affairs.
BARON KRAUS, Finances.
DR. BACH, Justice.
COUNT LATOUR, War.
MR. HORNBOSTEL, Trade.
MR. SCHWARZER, Public Works.

IN NOVEMBER.

PRINCE SCHWARZENBERG, Foreign Affairs.
COUNT STADION, Home Affairs.
BARON KRAUS, Finances.
DR. BACH, Justice.
GENERAL CORDON, War.
MR. BRUCK, Trade.
MR. THIENFELD, Public Works.
BARON KULMER, Croatian Minister without Portefeuille.

IN MAY, 1849.

PRINCE SCHWARZENBERG, Foreign Affairs.
DR. BACH, Home Affairs.
BARON KRAUS, Finances.
MR. SCHMERLING, Justice.
COUNT GIULAY, War.
MR. BRUCK, Trade.
MR. THIENFELD, Public Works.
COUNT LEO THUN, Public Instruction.
BARON KULMER, Croatian Minister without Portefeuille.

IN HUNGARY DURING THE SAME PERIOD, FROM MARCH TILL SEPTEMBER, 1848.

COUNT LOUIS BATTHYANYI, Prime Minister.
BERTALAN SZEMERE, Home Affairs.
LOUIS KOSSUTH, Finances.
FRANCIS DEAK, Justice.
GENERAL LAZAR MESZAROS, War.
GABOR KLAUZAL, Trade.
COUNT STEPHEN SZECHENYI, Public Works.
BARON IOSEF EÖTVÖS, Public Instruction.
PRINCE PAUL ESZTERHAZY, Minister around the person of the King, and entrusted with the regulation of international concerns between Hungary and the Austrian provinces, and, therefore, called Minister of Foreign Affairs.

IN SEPTEMBER.

COUNT LOUIS BATTHYANYI, alone.

FROM OCTOBER TO APRIL, 1849. THE COMMITTEE OF PUBLIC DEFENCE.

KOSSUTH, President.
SZEMERE.
MESZAROS.
BARON SIGMUND PERENYI.
PAUL NYARY.
COUNT MICHAEL ESZTERHAZY.
BARON NICOLAS IOSIKA.
JOHN PALFFY.
FRANCIS DUSCHEK.
LADISLAS MADARASZ.
Pazmandy, Pulszky, Zsembery, and Patay were only from October to January Members of this Committee.

IN APRIL KOSSUTH WAS ELECTED GOVERNOR-PRESIDENT, AND FORMED THE FOLLOWING CABINET:

SZEMERE, President of the Council, and Minister of Home Affairs.
COUNT CASIMIR BATTHYANYI, Foreign Affairs.
SABBAS VUKOVICS, Justice.
FRANCIS DUSCHEK, Finances.
LADISLAS CSANYI, Public Works.
BISHOP MICHEL HORVATH, Public Instruction.
GENERAL GÖRGEY, later GENERAL AULICH, War.

CHAPTER V.

THE INVASION OF JELLACHICH.

On the 9th of September, at noon, the Hungarian deputation had received the royal assurance, that the laws sanctioned by the King should be sacredly maintained, and no less the integrity of the Hungarian realm. In the night of that very same day, the army of Jellachich, without the least provocation on the part of Hungary, crossed the Drave, the frontier river between Croatia and Hungary. The proclamation of Jellachich, drawn up in general terms, declared that he was advancing to Pest, in the interest of freedom and of the United Monarchy. Had he then a notion of the consequences to which this step would lead? Could he form an image of the dreadful calamities which he was calling down upon his Croatian army, upon Hungary, and upon the Austrian monarchy? Was he able to conceive that his enterprise would be followed by the Russian intervention, by the overthrow of the Hungarian and Croatian constitution, which numbered eight hundred years, and by the moral, political, and financial break-down of Austria? Several letters from the Croatian head-quarters, which were intercepted by the Hungarians, bore evidence of the disposition that reigned there. The officers were setting out for Pest, as if it were for a party of pleasure, with the full conviction that the small Hungarian army,—the total of which was but eight thousand regular troops, whilst Jellachich boasted of sixty-five thousand—would either join Jellachich, or at least retire before the Croatian army, and allow it to proceed to Pest unmolested. Besides, they trusted that at the news of the invasion, all the Sclavonic counties would unanimously rise against the Hungarians; for Jellachich and his party had mistaken the swaggering of such men as Hodscha, Hurban, and Stur for fair truth.[1]

[1] Hodscha and Hurban had been Lutheran priests, Stur a schoolmaster, who, instead of the peaceful blessings of the Gospel, propagated the passionate doctrines of national excitement amongst the Sclavonians in Upper Hungary. They promised their disciples a mighty Sclavonic realm. They were supported by the Czechs (Sclavonic Bohemians); but in Hungary their attempts to instigate the Sclavonians against the Hungarians utterly failed.

The officers likewise expected a Wallachian insurrection, and, therefore, did not doubt their easy success. They professed in their letters, only to apprehend lest the Hungarian Ministers and Deputies should fly from Pest, and thus escape the vengeance of the Croatian army. They further wrote: "As soon as the nest of the revolution shall be destroyed at Pest, we shall proceed to Vienna, chastise the University and deliver the Emperor." This was the language held by the military party, who, by the expedition of Jellachich, thought to retrieve the honour of the army, which, according to their views, had been grievously sullied, when, in spite of the troops in Vienna, absolute monarchy had, in March, given way to constitutional forms. The Ultra-Conservatives in Hungary—the men who governed before March—were no doubt wounded in their national feelings at the attempt of a Croatian army to subdue Hungary; but they hoped that the threatening danger would compel the national party in Hungary to a compromise, by which they themselves would step again into power. A young man of their number, who during their government had occupied a high position, said: "We must first get rid of Count Batthyányi, then of the Archduke Stephen—everything else will be easily settled."

The views of the Viennese Ministry—which not only approved the expedition of Jellachich, but actively supported it with money and ammunition, artillery and clever officers—were soon afterwards expressed by Count Latour to a deputy of the town of Weisskirchen. The inhabitants of that place, who in compliance with the Imperial order had submitted to the Hungarian Ministry, had now, already for the third time, been attacked by the rebellious Serbs, and had been called upon by the Imperial Lieutenant-Colonel, Mayerhoffer, Austrian Consul in Belgrád, to surrender to him. The heroic inhabitants of Weisskirchen (all of German race) repelled likewise this third attack, but simultaneously sent a deputation to the Austrian Ministry of War, under whose administration they had stood before March, and asked what they were to understand to be their duty—what view the Ministry took of it—as, in compliance with the law, they were obeying the Hungarian Ministry, while, regardless of the law, Austrian Officers, who professed to be acting under Imperial order, were heading the rebellious[1] Serbs, in repeated attacks upon them. Count Latour replied evasively. "He lamented," he said,

[1] When the Palatine opened the Hungarian Diet on the 2nd of July, he denounced, in the King's name, the Serbian movement as a rebellion. Indeed, the unprovoked outrages of these Serbian murderers were afflicting to humanity. Yet they were led by imperial officers who bore the King's commission. Their real chief, Mayerhoffer, has been since promoted to the rank of general, and to the dignity of Vice-Woivod of the Serbs.

"the fate of the inhabitants of Weisskirchen. He could in that moment, as long, namely, as the Hungarian Ministry kept the path of legal right, do nothing for them; but that they had only to wait patiently for a little while, and steadily persevere, and they would, no doubt, in a few days, be released from their disagreeable position." The Austrian Ministry evidently calculated, that the approach of Jellachich must occasion an outbreak at Pest; that the more energetic party there would be impatient of Batthyányi's scrupulosity; and finding his preparations against Jellachich totally insufficient, would overpower him by force; that then Kossuth would be proclaimed Dictator; this of course would give a welcome pretext for putting Hungary under martial law, and military dictatorship; the ancient Constitution would be abolished and centralization established. Such were the old schemes originated under Rudolf II. by Cardinal Klesel—tried afresh under Ferdinand II., under Ferdinand III., under Leopold I., under Charles III., under the Emperor Joseph and Francis I., always with ultimate failure; but now at length the ministry made sure they would succeed. But Providence variously disappoints human presumption. The events were to belie the calculations of the crafty statesmen.

Prince Eszterházy had felt distinctly, that since the month of August, when the Imperial family had returned from Innspruck to Schönbrunn,[1] he was coldly received at Court; he therefore resigned his ministerial charge in the first days of September, before the audience given to the Hungarian deputation. Count Louis Batthyányi, and all the other Hungarian Ministers, did the same on their arrival at Pest, after the 9th of September. Deák, the Hungarian Minister of Justice, after that memorable audience had had one more interview with the Archduke, Francis Charles, brother to the Emperor Ferdinand. Deák had then set forth the real state of things, and had freely said: "That the measures of the Viennese cabinet would for ever estrange the Hungarians from the Imperial house; that the intrigues to undermine, and in fact to make void the laws, that had been constitutionally voted and had been solemnly sanctioned by the King, would greatly shake the authority of the crown." But the Archduke only made some evasive observations; every warning proved too late.

On the 13th of September, the ministerial benches in the Hungarian Diet, were empty: Szemere alone sat there. As Minister of the Interior he retained his office, until a new ministy could be formed. It was foreseen that the crisis would be protracted. The

[1] After the *émeute* of the 15th of May, at Vienna, the Imperial family fled to Innspruck; after the battle of Custozza they returned to Vienna.

excitement grew with every hour; daily couriers arrived, with tidings that Jellachich was advancing. The Hungarian corps of observation, that opposed him, had receded without a single shot; and its General had declared, he would not fight against Jellachich and the Croats. Jellachich had directed this General to retire with his Hungarians to Friedberg in Styria. In this alarming state the Diet called upon Kossuth not to leave his post during the crisis, nor give up the whole weight of business to the Under-Secretary of State. Kossuth immediately complied with this desire. In the midst of enthusiastic applause, he again took his ministerial seat, and proposed that, in order to face the most pressing danger, as an enemy was already in the country and marching against the capital, the Diet should authorize him to execute his financial plan, which had been already approved by the Diet, and which the King had not unconditionally declined. One of the parts of this plan was, to issue for the present, paper-money, as a floating debt.

The party which dreaded more than anything else, to risk every thing on the decision of the sword, hopeless as conciliation appeared, still persevered in attempting it. They entreated the Palatine, the Archduke Stephen, who, both by the law and by an autograph letter of the King, stood at the head of the government, instantly to form a new Cabinet, for that otherwise the imminence of the danger would necessarily lead to extreme measures. And, in truth, at the news of Jellachich's approach, volunteers kept hastening to Pest to defend the metropolis and the Diet. The Archduke, therefore, authorized Count Louis Batthyányi to form a new cabinet; a commission which the Count accepted conditionally. Kossuth declared that he would support him with his whole influence. At Kossuth's suggestion, the Diet entrusted Batthyányi with the direction of all functionaries, until his new cabinet should be sanctioned by the monarch. By this time more consolatory news came from the army.

Jellachich, who was almost wholly unprovided with cavalry, had issued to all the regiments stationed in Hungary a proclamation, summoning them to join him. He himself loitered about the neighbourhood of Kanizsa (not far from the Croatian frontier), to await the results of his proclamation. The colonel of a regiment of cuirassiers, who with his troop was on his way to Austria, where his Bohemians were to be exchanged for a Hungarian regiment of hussars, refused obedience to the Hungarian ministry, and submitted to the order of Jellachich. But on the other hand, the officers of the Hungarian army had disapproved the order of their General, to give way before the Croats, and had declared their resolution, steadily to obey the Hungarian Ministry, under whose orders they had been

placed by the law, and by the express declaration of the King; but, wishing to learn by what authority and command Jellachich had invaded the country, they sent two officers, the Count Bubna and Mr. Bárczay, to the head-quarters of Jellachich, begging to see the Imperial order, which authorized him to invade Hungary. Jellachich received the Hungarian officers with ready amiability, wishing to make friends of them. He owned that he had no positive order from the Emperor to invade Hungary; but asserted that the Emperor was not free:—"The Court," he said, "approved the plans of the army; and it was the duty of every officer to risk his life for the support of the throne, without first inquiring for orders." He further gave his opinion, "that the Austrian monarchy was in danger of being dismembered; that the army was the only link which could keep it together; that the officers were men of deeds not of words, that it was for them to assume the direction of affairs, and to supplant as well the bureaucrats of the old school, as the revolutionists of the present time." The fine words of Jellachich failed to impress the two officers. When he had declared that he had no direct order from the Emperor to invade Hungary, they said that they knew enough, and returned to the Hungarian camp. But the Hungarian General, who had given the order to avoid the Croats, could no longer gain obedience from the troops.

Count Louis Batthyányi now called upon the Archduke Stephen (who as Palatine was likewise Captain-General of the country), to put himself at the head of the Hungarian army. The Archduke complied, and by his presence raised the enthusiasm of these troops. They in reality were only desirous of maintaining the honour of the Hungarian army; as none believed, that with their small number they could possibly resist the sixfold larger forces of Jellachich.

The Hungarian Diet made one more attempt at conciliation. It sent a deputation to the Austrian Diet at Vienna, inviting it to settle any differences that might exist between Hungary and Austria,[1] by means of a commission, to be appointed by the Hungarian and Austrian Diets conjointly. But the Austrian assembly, by its ministerial majority, refused to receive the Hungarian deputation. The Csechs, who apprehended that an understanding with the Hungarians would frustrate the plans of Jellachich, for the ascendency of the Sclavonians, all voted with the ministry.

Count Batthyányi had, at the same time, entreated the Archduke

[1] Not the differences between Hungary and Croatia, as this country had been incorporated into Hungary since the times of the Hungarian King Kálmán (Colomannus) in the eleventh century: and, therefore, its transactions with Hungary could legally be settled between them without any interference from Austria.

to do everything which could lead to a conciliation. He farther desired my husband to represent to the Emperor in Vienna, that on one condition only was it possible for him to form a new cabinet,[1] namely, if without delay the order was issued, that Jellachich should withdraw from Hungary, and that all questions between Croatia and Hungary should be carried on by peaceful arbitration. The Archduke Francis Charles, who at that time used to answer in the Emperor's name, said: "His Majesty approved of the Archduke Stephen having taken the command of the Hungarian troops, and had nothing to object to the names which Count Batthyányi proposed for his cabinet. As for the rest, everything that was necessary should be provided for." But, instead of an order commanding Jellachich to withdraw, the Archduke Stephen received an autograph letter from the Emperor expressing the desire that the Archduke should avoid any conflict with the Croatian army, which was marching towards Pest. The Palatine still tried the last means of a compromise. He requested Jellachich to come to an interview in the midst of the Balaton, (Plattensee), in view of both the armies, where the Hungarians stood on the north-western bank, the Croatians on the south-eastern. When, however, the steam-boat on which the Archduke Stephen had arrived, sent its boats to the opposite shore to receive Jellachich and his aide-de-camp, the Croat General asked his officers, whether he should go on board the vessel. They, of course, wanted no compromise: they expected to enter Pest triumphantly, without the trouble of even unsheathing their swords, and therefore cried out unanimously: "We do not permit it!" Jellachich accordingly would not come. The Archduke then saw no chance of deciding the awful contest except by arms—resigned his command to General Moga—left the army and his fatherland,[2] and hastened to Vienna, whence he speedily departed to Germany. There he still lives on the estates, which he has inherited from his mother. Before he left Vienna, he had an interview with my husband. To judge by what the Palatine then expressed, he foresaw the fate of Hungary and of the Monarchy, and deeply regretted the

[1] The names of the ministers Count Batthyányi had proposed to the King for his Cabinet were, Count Alexander Erdödy, the Barons Josef Eötvös, Dionys Kemény, Nicolas Vay, General Mészáros, Colomann Ghiczy, and Maurice Szentkirályi.

[2] Archduke Stephen, the son of Archduke Joseph, and grandson of Emperor Leopold, was born and brought up in Hungary; his estates were all in Hungary, and he believed and always proclaimed himself an Hungarian. In the year 1847, he openly quoted at a public dinner at Arad the words of the poet Vörösmarty, "So long may I live, as I can live for Hungary." Before he assumed the command of the army, he sent the message to the Diet: "If everybody forsakes Hungary, I ever remain faithful to my fatherland."

wounds which, by the intrigues of ambitious individuals, and by the military party, were piercing the country and shattering the dynasty. He seemed to be aware, that if the King's word is no longer sacred, and the people cease to give firm trust to this pledge, then the moral authority of royalty is ruined. The Archduke appeared to be in despair, both for Hungary and for the Austrian monarchy.

Count Louis Batthyányi likewise did not believe in the possibility of resisting the Croatian army. He did not wish his country to be crushed without resistance; yet he ever, and above all things, longed for reconciliation, and was ready to catch at the faintest hopes of it. Only one man did not despair, and had a firm belief in the victory of his country. This man was Kossuth. He trusted in his nation, and addressed its Oriental genius in an eloquent appeal, affording a remarkable contrast to the minute detail of facts and figures in the letters and dispatches by which his instructions were conveyed.

After reminding his countrymen in this proclamation of the truth of all his former predictions, he yields to an irresistible influence to continue prophesying, and says:

"Hear! patriots hear!

"The eternal God doth not manifest himself in passing wonders, but in everlasting laws.

"It is an eternal law of God's that whosoever abandoneth himself will be of God forsaken.

"It is an eternal law that whosoever assisteth himself, him will the Lord assist.

"It is a Divine law that swearing falsely is by its results self-chastised.

"It is a law of God's that he who resorteth to perjury and injustice, prepareth his own shame and the triumph of the righteous cause.

"In firm reliance upon these eternal laws—on these laws of the universe—I aver that my prophecy will be fulfilled, and I foretel that this invasion of Jellachich's will work out Hungary's liberation.

"In the name of that fatherland, betrayed so basely, I charge you to believe my prophecy, and it will be fulfilled.

"In what consists Jellachich's power?

"In a material force, seemingly mighty, of seventy thousand followers, but of which thirty thousand are furnished by the regulations of the military frontier.

"But what is in the rear of this host? By what is it supported? There is nothing to support it!

"Where is the population that cheers it with unfeigned enthusiasm? There is none.

"Such a host may ravage our territories, but never can subdue it.

"Batu-Chan deluged our country with his hundreds of thousands. He devastated, but he could not conquer.

"Jellachich's host at worst will prove a locust-swarm, incessantly lessening in its progress till destroyed.

"So far as he advances, so far will be diminished the number of his followers, never destined to behold the Drave again.

"Let us—Hungarians—be resolved, and stones will suffice to destroy our enemy. This done, it will be time to speak of what further shall befal.

"But every Hungarian would be unworthy the sun's light if his first morning thought, and his last thought at eve, did not recal the perjury and treason with which his very banishment from the realms of the living has been plotted.

"Thus the Hungarian people has two duties to fulfil.

"The first, to rise in masses, and crush the foe invading her paternal soil.

"The second, to remember!

"If the Hungarian should neglect these duties, he will prove himself dastardly and base. His name will be synonymous with shame and wickedness.

"So base and dastardly as to have himself disgraced the holy memory of his forefathers—so base, that even his Maker shall repent having created him to dwell upon this earth—so accursed that air shall refuse him its vivifying strength—that the corn-field, rich in blessings, shall grow into a desert beneath his hand—that the refreshing well-head shall dry up at his approach! Then shall he wander homeless about the world, imploring in vain from compassion the dry bread of charity. The race of strangers for all alms will smite him on the face. Thus will do that stranger-race, which seeks in his own land to degrade him into the outcast, whom every ruffian with impunity may slay like the stray-dog—which seeks to sink him into the likeness of that Indian pariah, whom men pitilessly hound their dogs upon in sport to worry.

"For the consolations of religion he shall sigh in vain.

"The craven spirit by which Creation has been polluted will find no forgiveness in this world, no pardon in the next.

"The maid to whom his eyes are raised shall spurn him from her door like a thing unclean; his wife shall spit contemptuously in his face; his own child shall lisp its first word out in curses on its father.

"Terrible! terrible! but such the malediction," proceeds this proclamation, "if the Hungarian race proves so cowardly as not to disperse the Croatian and Serbian invaders, 'as the wild wind disperses the unbinded sheaves by the way-side.'

"But no, this will never be; and, therefore, I say the freedom of Hungary will be achieved by this invasion of Jellachich. Our duty is to triumph first, then to remember.

"To arms! Every man to arms; and let the women dig a deep grave between Veszprém and Fehervar, in which to bury either the name, fame, and nationality of Hungary, or our enemy.

"And either on this grave will rise a banner, on which shall be inscribed, in record of our shame, 'Thus God chastiseth cowardice!' or we will plant thereon the tree of freedom everlastingly green, and from out whose foliage shall be heard the voice of the Most High, saying, as from the fiery bush to Moses, 'The spot on which thou standest is holy ground.'

"All hail! to Hungary, to her freedom, happiness, and fame.

"He who has influence in a county, he who has credit in a village, let him raise his banner. Let there be heard upon our boundless plains no music but the solemn strains of the Rakoczy march. Let him collect ten, fifty, a hundred, a thousand followers—as many as he can gather, and marshal them to Veszprém.

"Veszprém, where, on its march to meet the enemy, the whole Hungarian people shall assemble, as mankind will be assembled on the Judgment Day."

Responding to this appeal, the inhabitants of the country streamed enthusiastically to the capital from all sides. New battalions were formed, and as the public distrusted the officers of the Hungarian regiments of infantry (who, for the greatest part, were Germans and Bohemians, and did not deny their sympathy with Jellachich), the regular soldiers also were summoned by the young men of Pest to leave the black and yellow[1] standard, and to enrol in the newly-formed battalions of the Honvéds (defenders of the fatherland).

From Vienna, likewise, volunteers came to Hungary. Since Jellachich had crossed the Drave, enlistments for Hungary had publicly taken place in Vienna, with the knowledge of the Minister of the Interior. Baron Dobblhof looked on the Croatian invasion of Hungary as a matter in which he was wholly neutral. He permitted the enlistment for the Hungarians, and simultaneously an enrolment for Jellachich. Lads from eighteen to twenty-two years of age were to be seen, some with the Hungarian, others with the Croatian "tricolour," drinking together at one and the same table in the tavern, and thus spending their enlistment-money together. These poor youths associated and joked good-humouredly with one another; nevertheless, they knew that their next meeting was to be in oppo-

[1] Black and yellow are the Austrian Imperials' colours.

site ranks, on the bloody field of battle. At the same time, people were summoned to a third enrolment, by a printed writ posted up for public notice, for the formation of a Sclavonic corps of volunteers, which was to stir up rebellion in the north-western counties of Nyitra, Trencsin and Thurócz, wholly peopled by Slovaks.

It became manifest, that in spite of the advance of Jellachich towards Pest, the Diet and the whole population of Hungary were not discouraged, but would, in any case, stand the chance of a contest. This did not suit the plan of the Court party in Vienna; for though it did not doubt that Jellachich would be victorious, yet it was aware that, in this case, the exasperation in Hungary against Austria would be raised to the utmost.

The first hope had failed, namely, that the Hungarian regiments would follow the example of the German ones, and pass over to Jellachich. The commander of the fortress of Komárom (Komorn) had also been summoned by the Austrian Ministry of war to surrender to Jellachich, like the commander of Eszek, who had given up this fortress to the Croats. But, regardless of the order which Count Latour wrote to him, the commander of Komárom and his troops proved true to the Hungarian cause. His reply to Count Latour's letter was, "that the King legally conveyed his orders by his Hungarian ministry, and that therefore no order could be accepted from his Majesty's Austrian ministry."

The plan in Vienna, therefore, was altered. The Austrian General Count Lamberg was appointed "Commander-in-chief of all troops in Hungary," of the Hungarian no less than of the Croatian troops, with full power to dissolve the Diet if necessary.

The Court and military party thought by this arrangement most easily to realize their plan of centralization, and their aim of annulling the legal independence of Hungary. It was calculated, that probably the Hungarian army would submit to Count Lamberg, as of course would the troops of Jellachich; and backed by a force of at least 70,000 men in the near vicinity of the capital, Lamberg could either get the Diet to pass everything he desired, or dissolve it without the danger of an insurrection, and could then provisionally organize the country.

My husband, of course, knew all this directly in Vienna; and as he heard that an order without any counter-signature had been given to General Lamberg, he went to Count Latour, and represented, that whatever might be the intentions of the Count, legal formality ought in any case to be respected; and that the order, which gave unlimited authority to General Lamberg, could not be legal without the counter-signature of the Hungarian prime minister, Count Batthyányi: in fact, without this, Count Lamberg would

become, according to the Hungarian law, guilty of high treason, as attempting to seize the highest authority in violation of the laws.

Lieutenant Field-Marshal Latour did not accept this view; but answered with irritation: "that General Lamberg was provided with everything he required, and that the counter-signature was perfectly unnecessary." This irritability of the Austrian minister of war was easily to be accounted for.

In the preceding days, Hungarian shepherds had surprised a courier from Jellachich, with letters directed to Count Latour, and other persons connected with the Austrian ministry; letters which plainly evinced the understanding that existed between the Viennese Ministry of War and Jellachich. The latter in his dispatch acknowledged his receipt of military stores, requested more, and solicited his public recognition by the Emperor, with full authority to carry on his enterprise energetically.

These letters were, by the Hungarian government, published without delay, and distributed even in Vienna by hundreds and hundreds of copies. They were the first authentic documents, which clearly proved the duplicity of the party of the court; as but a short time before, Count Latour had, on a question put to him in the Viennese Diet, pledged his word of honour, "that he had no official relations with Jellachich."

My husband, who personally knew, and highly esteemed General Lamberg, now sent a person acquainted with the General to Pressburg, where Lamberg then was, to represent to him the illegality of his appointment, and the necessity of the counter-signature, and, at the same time, sent a courier with the account of all that had happened to Count Louis Batthyányi. The Count was well aware that the mission entrusted to General Lamberg was not a mission for peace, but only aimed at a reaction against the laws of 1848, probably also against the old Hungarian constitution. Even this, however, appeared to Batthyányi, in the present instance, less pernicious to Hungary, than a lost battle against Jellachich, which would deliver Pest and the whole of Hungary, unconditionally, into the hands of the Croatian chief. Batthyányi, therefore, determined to counter-sign the nomination of Count Lamberg, whenever the order should be produced to him. But Batthyányi did not doubt that General Lamberg would hasten first to the Hungarian camp before he would venture to come to Pest, and, therefore, he himself likewise went on the 27th of September to the Hungarian army.

As Batthyányi had, since the 14th of September, remained sole minister (all the former cabinet having resigned, and the newly-proposed ministers having not yet been officially confirmed by the

King), the Count could not uninterruptedly attend the Sessions of the Diet. The Diet, therefore, appointed a committee, to which Count Batthyányi was to give his instructions, and with which he was to consult about the means of defence against Jellachich. This committee was the well-known "Committee of Defence" (Honvédelmi Bizottmány) which afterwards took charge of the government, when it was abandoned, first by the Palatine Archduke, afterwards by the Minister, Count Batthyányi. The despatches from Vienna were naturally communicated likewise to that Committee, and by it directly submitted to the Diet. On the evening of the 27th the Diet, assembled in an extraordinary sitting, declared the order, without counter-signature, given to General Lamberg, to be illegal, and himself an outlaw, if he should dare to execute it.

Lamberg certainly had no conception of the excitement which prevailed at Pest. A Hungarian himself, although of German extraction, he had a long time lived in the midst of his countrymen, and firmly believed that the inhabitants of Pest were so panic-struck, by the approach of the Croats, that they would greet him as their deliverer. Instead of proceeding to the camp, the General went to Pest. He there called on Mailáth, who was Chief Justice (Judex Curiæ) and also a privy-councillor, an old acquaintance of his, to speak with him about his own mission. He found the privy-councillor confined to his bed. But his son, one of the most distinguished members of the conservative party, a leader in the previous Diets, who was well aware of the general excitement, entreated Count Lamberg to leave Pest, by a back-door and by-streets, without the least delay, and to hasten after Count Batthyányi to the camp, as in the town his life obviously would be endangered. Lamberg laughed at these apprehensions, and drove in a hackney-coach to Buda. Whether he really intended, before proceeding to the army, to take possession of the fortress of Buda, which commands Pest, cannot be decided. But suddenly the report spread all over the capital, that Count Lamberg had arrived, and would give up the fortress of Buda, then occupied by National Guards, to those very companies of Austrian soldiers, which, on account of the public distrust against them, had not been ordered to the Hungarian camp, but had been left in Pest.

It was the 28th, at noon: the Diet was assembled: Kossuth was developing in a long speech the means to be adapted for defence against Jellachich, when a tumult arose in the streets. The deputy Balogh hastened down, and when he heard the people crying out, that the fortress was to be seized, he put himself at the head of a crowd of volunteers, and led them speedily to Buda, to occupy and

secure the gates of the fortress. Masses of people, armed with scythes, thronged after him; but as they saw the fortress-gates safe in the hands of determined men, most of the crowd returned. Just when the multitude was pressing over the bridge of boats, which unites Buda to Pest, a fatal chance led Count Lamberg thither. He was in a hackney-coach; a sergeant recognized him, violently pulled him from the carriage, and a German student and a young Hungarian from Transylvania, struck him down in an instant. The raving mob fancied that an act of patriotism had been achieved, and triumphantly dragged the body through the streets. The Diet naturally saw this crime in another light. As soon as the horrifying news reached the parliamentary Hall, a resolution was passed to express the intense sorrow of the Diet at the bloody murder, and to command an immediate inquest, and the punishment of the criminals. These instantly fled. A courier was despatched to the camp, to communicate to Count Louis Batthyányi and the Hungarian army the distressing tidings. Its impression on the troops could not possibly be foreseen, as General Lamberg had been known and beloved by the Hungarian soldiers. Count Batthyányi had, some hours before the arrival of the official courier, already received by a private courier the horrid news. Indignant that the sacred cause of his fatherland was polluted by murder, and without any hope of seeing Hungary victorious, he again resigned his place as prime minister, and hastened to Vienna, to save for Hungary what he possibly could in the general wreck. But on the army the murder of General Lamberg made no impression; all were burning to meet the enemy. Innumerable volunteers daily hastened to the camp; its position was favourable, and the citizens of Pest sent thither one vessel after another loaded with provisions, of which, in consequence, there was great profusion. When the deputies from the Diet anxiously detailed to the Hussars, that the murder of General Lamberg was not a political, but an individual crime, at which the Diet recoiled with horror, and that the criminals had been pursued; an old sergeant interrupted the speaker, and said: "All this is nonsense! If a revolution is necessary to save the country, we likewise ride through it in full gallop."

Jellachich heard the same evening that General Lamberg had been murdered, and that Count Batthyányi had left the country. Owing to this, the Croatian leader fully expected an utter confusion in the Hungarian army, and the greatest anarchy in Pest. In consequence he gave orders for an attack, the 29th, in the morning, with the conviction of a complete and unbloody victory. He also calculated upon the lack of gunners in the Hungarian army, because the soldiers of the artillery in Austria were all Bohemians. Jella-

chich had no notion, that since the beginning of September, the lawyers and engineers of Pest had entered the ranks, and had been regularly drilled by the Bohemian artillerymen, who could hardly have been depended on in the field. When, therefore, close to the vineyards of Sukoró the first cannon-shot received him, he and his whole army evidently were surprised. A long cannonade followed without occasioning any great loss, until at last the charges of Jellachich's cuirassiers were repulsed by the Hungarian infantry, and the Croats retired in confusion. But General Móga, the Hungarian Commander-in-chief, with his undisciplined volunteers, and with officers, many of whom had no knowledge of military art, did not choose to pursue the victory. A council of war was held. Jellachich had requested an armistice of three days. It was granted to him by General Móga. Jellachich did not keep his position; he availed himself of the armistice to escape in the darkness of the night, to gain Györ (Raab) in forced marches, and from there the Austrian frontier, where he expected reinforcements from the Austrian Minister of War.

The 1st of October Jellachich reached Györ, the 5th he was in Mosony (Wieselburg). He trusted that the German and Italian garrison of Pressburg, would join him. The National Guard in Pressburg, however, broke up the bridge of boats, and the soldiers garrisoned in the neighbourhood could not cross the Danube, but precipitately passed the Austrian frontier. Some companies of the Italian regiments put themselves at the disposal of the Hungarians. Great as the enthusiasm of the Hungarian army was, General Móga but slowly pursued the Croats. He evidently was averse to destroy them. Every evening he regularly arrived at the place which Jellachich had left in the morning. Probably he deemed that the battle of Sukoró would prove a sufficient warning to the Croats, and to the party, whose tools they were, and he daily awaited from Vienna an unbloody solution of the contest.

The flight of Jellachich (or the *flank-movement*, as he himself styled it,) naturally endangered the two corps, which had covered his communication with Croatia. One of these, consisting of 5000 men, under the command of Baron Albert Nugent, was, on the 3d of October, when the news spread of the battle of Sukoró, attacked and routed by the National Guards of the south-western counties, headed by Joseph Vidos, a member of the Diet. The other Croatian corps of 12,000 men, with twelve cannons, under the Generals Róth and Philipovich, was on the 5th obliged to surrender at discretion, being pressed from all sides by the "Népfelkelés" (levy of people), led by Csapó, Görgey, and Perczel. Csapó, the sheriff of the county of Tolna, had consumed or wasted all the provisions, on

the roads to which the Croatians were compelled. Perczel and Görgey surrounded the starved troops, who, dispirited also by the tidings of the defeat sustained by the main corps under Jellachich, surrendered on the third day. Sixty officers were taken prisoners. In 12 cannons, seven standards, and 11,000 muskets, consisted the trophies of this day, which excited in Pest the greatest enthusiasm.

CHAPTER VI.

THE OCTOBER INSURRECTION OF VIENNA.

WHILST in Hungary the vigour of the nation so powerfully manifested itself, in Vienna the public opinion, through all classes of society, took a different turn. Until September 1848, Hungary had attracted no sympathy among the democrats, whose feelings still appeared to be of some weight with the Austrian ministry, although most of the leaders had left that party. Dr. Bach was now Minister of Home Affairs. In March he had been a radical lawyer; in April he was still dallying with republican ideas; as late as June and July he talked of "the Democratic Empire on the largest basis;" but he had now become not only the minister, but even the courtier of Absolutism. Baron Dobblhof indeed gathered students of the university into his office, as if implying that he was a constitutionalist and something more; but from the constant wavering of his gentle character he had lost all power over the people. Schwarzer, influential as a journalist, had likewise been silenced by holding a ministerial portfolio. Even Dr. Fischoff, after being appointed ministerial councillor, spoke no more in the Diet. Dr. Schütte, an agitator of eminent talent, had been expelled from Vienna. Dr. Giskra, who had likewise been one of the democratic leaders, went as member to the Frankfort parliament.

Persons of inferior talent and less defined notions conducted the newspapers and the public meetings. In both of these fields Hungary had often been attacked by the adherents of "exclusive Germanism," who, just as they had thought to incorporate Posen, so

now desired to fuse down Hungary into the grand united German Empire—a project which they knew the Hungarians would resist. On the other hand, the decided democrats could not forget that the Hungarians did not want to abolish the House of Peers, and kept to the system of Two Houses. The Sclavonians were enthusiastic for Jellachich.

The democratical party mainly consisted of the students of the University of Vienna, of lawyers, of physicians, of shopkeepers, and of the poorer classes; in short, of the great bulk of the National Guards. But in this party likewise there were different shades of political opinion. Some of these adhered to the plans of the Frankfort parliament relative to a German Empire; others cared much for democracy but little for union; many were taken up with the notion of a Sclavonic Austria; by all, Hungary was more or less attacked. In opposition to these parties another had by degrees constituted itself, which adopted the name of *Black and Yellow*.[1] Its elements were bankers, rich merchants, first-rate manufacturers, and civil officers of high place. Of the people only the cabmen belonged to it, and that because the democrats habitually walk with umbrellas, and use only omnibuses, seldom cabs, or hackney-coaches.

The Black and Yellow party had recovered from the first stunning effect of the revolution, and now aspired to influence. It of course disliked Hungary, perfectly aware that with a national administration that country would soon thrive, and then become independent of the Viennese money-dealers, who had large dealings, not seldom of an usurious kind, with the Hungarian nobility. There existed no third party in Vienna. The high Austrian aristocracy had retired to their estates, and kept apart from politics. Leaving everything to take its course, they waited for the ebb in the public feeling, which they thought was sure to follow the flood-tide of revolution.

The stately and dignified appearance of the two Hungarian deputations, (one to the Emperor, the other to the Austrian Diet,) which in September had left Vienna without result, had first occasioned in the public mind a turn favourable to the Hungarians. The newspapers now took up the great question more carefully, and some of them declared themselves for Hungary. On the contrary, the language of other journals daily grew more passionate in proportion to the approach of Jellachich towards Pest. They personally attacked Batthyányi and Kossuth, so as to force them to bring actions for libel before the tribunals.

However, the publication of the intercepted letters from the Croa-

[1] These were the colours the Emperor Francis had chosen for his empire, when he adopted in 1804 the title of "Emperor of Austria."

tian head-quarters, made a great impression on the whole Constitutional party. Every one now saw that it was not to redress the peculiar grievances of Croatia—her "oppression by Hungary," so often alleged, but never proved,—that Jellachich was advancing towards Pest; but that he was the instrument of the Reaction, which designed to rescind every law, that had been granted to the people since March; and that his army was embattled, not against Hungary alone, but also against the vital principle of constitutionalism, which for a moment had been victorious over the whole of Europe.

The excitement grew more and more intense towards the end of September, and the movements of the armies in Hungary were attended to with anxious interest. More than once people met in the Odeon—the most spacious hall in Vienna, where 10,000 people find room—and listened there to the brilliant speeches of Dr. Tausenau, which produced great effect.

The "Black and Yellow," and even those impartial witnesses who took no direct concern in politics, did not doubt for a moment that Jellachich must conquer. Many of these freely declared, that "the right indeed was with Hungary, but by the irresistible law of nature, the numerically weaker race must necessarily be subjugated by the stronger; that the central power of a great realm, in spite of all historical compacts, and whatever the legal claim might be, inevitably by degrees assimilated and melted up into one all the kingdoms which had received one and the same monarch."

That the independence of Hungary, though hitherto a legal and historical fact, was now to be suppressed, and the centralizing projects of the court-party to be realized, seemed at last a certainty, especially as the murder of Count Lamberg had stained the Hungarian cause.

On the 2nd of October, the tidings had been expected in Vienna, that the Croats had entered Buda. Instead of this, the mail from Pest was missed, and from Győr the news came that the Croatian army had arrived there. Nobody could understand this march of Jellachich. No report of his defeat had reached the Austrian capital; for he stood with his army between Pest and Vienna, and thus prevented the communication. The excitement grew in proportion as the Croats advanced towards the frontier. The impression was, that Jellachich had threatened Pest, only to approach Vienna with more security.

Batthyányi, indignant at the murder of Lamberg, and despairing as to the prospects of Hungary, had left the Hungarian camp on the 28th, in the night. He arrived in Vienna on the 30th, and on the 1st of October presented his second resignation to the Emperor.

Baron Récsey, an old soldier, who had never meddled in any way

with politics, was on the 3d of October named Hungarian Prime-Minister, on condition of his countersigning an Imperial order, by which Jellachich would be appointed Civil and Military Governor of Hungary, the Diet be dissolved, and the whole of Hungary declared in a state of siege, until it should have been "reorganized on the basis of the equal rights of all nationalities." Récsey had on the day before communicated this to Count Louis Batthyányi, who entreated the old General not to dishonour his grey hair by countersigning this decree, which in result annulled the whole Hungarian Constitution—an act with which his name would ever be linked. Baron Récsey, although moved in the first interview, replied on the following day: "But I am a soldier: my first duty is subordination. My Emperor commands; I must obey: and the Emperor has always been a gracious Sovereign to me. Moreover, he is now paying my debts; and I must prove grateful."

On the 4th the fatal ordinance was published, which naturally produced in Hungary the most pernicious effect. Jellachich—the very man, who but three months previously, on the 10th of June, had been declared high traitor by the King—Jellachich, who without provocation had attacked Hungary, and had been defeated—this man was to be the ruler over life and death in the whole kingdom, and would thus be empowered fully to revenge himself on the nation which he hated, and by which he had been exposed to disgrace.

But during this interval, tidings direct from Pest had arrived at Vienna; and anxious as the Court party was to keep the secret, it could no longer be doubted that the Croatian army did not advance as victors. The result of the battle of Sukoró was whispered abroad, and the courage of the Viennese was raised. Simultaneously the news came, that an incursion into the county of Nyitra, by a Sclavonic corps under Hurban—who aimed at exciting an insurrection, in order to divide the forces of the Hungarians and support the operations of Jellachich—had utterly failed. The corps had mainly consisted of students of the University of Prague; but they were dispersed at Miava and Verbo by the national guards of Pressburg, aided by a small military body which was stationed in that neighbourhood.

When the Hungarians in Vienna heard these tidings, they clearly saw that their nation would never submit to the arbitrary decree which gave unlimited power to Jellachich; and that, in consequence, war between Austria and Hungary was unavoidable. But, in fact, all the measures of the Court party in Vienna had for months been directed to force Hungary into a collision, which was necessarily dreaded by all those who had the welfare of the country at heart, and were anxious for the real interest of the Imperial house.

My husband deliberated in the Ministry with the Hungarian Councillors of State, who had grown old in the Monarch's service, and were once deputies in the Hungarian Diet. They were intensely grieved at the blow which had been aimed at the Constitution; but they thought that it was still the duty of the civil officers to abide in their places as long as nothing was directly demanded from them in opposition to the laws. Count Batthyányi was of the same opinion, and considered it my husband's duty not to resign, but to wait until he should be dismissed. I remember it most vividly; it was on the 5th of October, when we met Count Batthyányi on the glacis. After he had expressed his opinion relative to my husband, the Count inquired what he himself should do? whether he should go as volunteer to the Hungarian army, or should proceed to Paris, and try to direct the attention of Europe to the contest in Hungary, which until then had always been misrepresented in the foreign papers. Perhaps the voice of European opinion would prove more effective than any representations of the Hungarians. My husband thought so too, and advised the Count to set out without delay, as there was no time to lose; for the documents needful to explain the contest would require months to gain general notice, whilst decisive results could not be expected to tarry. The Count fully entered into this view; but he wanted previously to take leave of his family, and therefore left Vienna on the very same evening for Soprony (Oedenburg). Had he then gone to Paris, the events, perhaps, might have taken another turn; in any case, the Austrian annalists would have one dreadful crime less to record.

When we returned home at five o'clock, an autograph letter of the King was handed to my husband. Its contents were: "that my husband's resignation as Under Secretary of State had been accepted by his Majesty." This letter was countersigned by Baron Récsey. We smiled at its contents, as my husband had not offered his resignation. In consequence of this we took leave of our friends, intending next day to make all necessary preparations for our return to Hungary. The place of every patriot now naturally was, either at the army as volunteer, or in the government at Pest.

Our friends informed us, that the German battalion, Richter, had been commanded to march next day into Hungary, in aid of Jellachich; that great public excitement was rising, now that for the first time an *unconcealed* support was given to the Croats; considering that this converted the contest, which till then had seemed to be only a Croato-Hungarian one, into a war between Austria and Hungary. What made the case worse, was, that this decisive step had been taken without the approval of the Diet, though it was

sitting daily: that such military aid to Jellachich was considered almost to amount to declaring war against Hungary, which might possibly lead to severe expenses, and therefore, many thought, should in no case be done without consent of the Diet.

Notwithstanding this state of things, when late in the evening we drove from the town to Penzing, we noticed no agitation in the streets; nothing marked the eve of a bloody insurrection.

Dr. Tausenau had that day, it is true, delivered in the Odeon a powerful speech on "Jellachich before the gates of Vienna." In this he had depicted the Croats as the murderers of freedom, and had called upon the Viennese to resist courageously, in case Jellachich should dare to advance. At the same time the orator remonstrated against the unlawful proceeding of the Austrian Ministry, which, without consulting the Diet, had conveyed support to Jellachich. Ten thousand people applauded this speech, but dispersed without any disturbance of public order. Meanwhile, however, the grenadiers in the taverns were discussing the matter over their beer, and generally reasoned: "That it was unjust to send them away against the Hungarians; that the Hungarians were in war with Jellachich, but not with the Emperor; that they, themselves, had nothing to do with the quarrels of Croats and Hungarians."

Such sentiments were backed and encouraged by several students and national guards, who had entered the taverns; and the soldiers' reluctance was farther confirmed by the accident, that the particular battalion which had been ordered to march, was very popular among the Viennese. It consisted of men from Upper-Austria, whom the inhabitants of the capital were glad to see, rather than the Galician battalion Nassau, the men of which had frequent disputes with the citizens. These therefore said: "if a battalion must march, why not the Galicians, why our brethren the Upper-Austrians?"

In our neighbourhood at Penzing lived an attaché of the French Embassy (afterwards French Consul in Hayti), whom we frequently saw. The 6th of October, in the morning, he came, as was almost his daily custom, to walk to town with my husband. We had not as yet the slightest knowledge that a contest had begun in the Prater. The battalion, commanded to march into Hungary, complied unwillingly, and arrived near the rail-road on which it was to proceed, with cries: "The Hungarians are our brothers, not our foes! What have we to do with the Croats?" In company with them walked national guards, partly without arms, partly armed. On the embankment of the railway, close to the Danube, still larger crowds were assembled of national guards, students, and workmen. Some of these broke down an arch of the Tabor-bridge, and hereby hindered the departure of the soldiers.

One of the students made a speech, in which he appealed to General Bredi, the commander of the troops; that seeing the unanimous aversion of the citizens and soldiers against the march into Hungary, the General should intimate this fact to the Minister of War, and entreat him to retract the order. The General promised so to do; and the crowd believed that the Ministry would yield. But it was only the same wavering which so often had been visible in the Viennese Executive. General Bredi soon returned: the order to march had been renewed, and several companies of fresh troops arrived in haste to enforce obedience on the others, if necessary.

The people crowded in masses before the soldiers, and thus prevented their movements. The crowd was summoned to disperse, but did not comply; the troops fired, and several national guards were killed.

The discharge had not the effect expected by the Government; for the people returned the shots. General Bredi fell dead from his horse, and the soldiers were obliged to retreat with the loss of a cannon. By this time the alarm had spread over the town. A body of national guards who happened to be there assembled, were inhabitants of the suburbs and Radicals in politics. On hearing the reports of cannons and muskets on the bank of the Danube, they marched to the place of St. Stephen (*Stephansplatz*), and were proceeding up to the tower to ring the alarm-bell. The "black and yellow" guards, citizens of the inner town, tried to prevent this, an engagement ensued. From a window, a shot fell on the guards of the suburbs; the contest grew bloody; the alarm-bell rang at one o'clock.

My husband at nine o'clock had gone to his office in town, to get his effects there ready for our departure; but as soon as he perceived the tumult, and understood its cause, he hastened to Baron Sina, a well-known banker, in close relations with the Government; who, as a proprietor of very large estates in Hungary, could not be indifferent to the policy pursued towards that country. My husband represented to him, that even now it might not prove too late for the Ministry to change its dangerous course;—that its support of Jellachich and the "Reaction," was obviously everywhere exciting civil war and insurrection; that he himself was just on the eve of setting out for Pest, and would gladly seize every possible means of bringing about an understanding, to end the unhappy dissension between the Court and the Hungarian nation. He implored the Baron to speak to the Ministers, and make efforts for some arrangement.

But it was too late. When the Baron was persuaded to go to the Ministers, the engagement had already begun in the streets of the town itself. Barricades had risen; the gates were occupied by the

guards of the suburbs. Troops from the suburbs were not allowed to enter the town, but single individuals could get out of it. My husband arrived at Penzing at three o'clock, he had hastened home, well aware that I should be in great anxiety at this terrifying uproar. Of course I had heard the cannons thundering and the alarm-bell sounding. Every omnibus coming from town brought fresh news; the general agitation increased.

In anxious expectation, my husband, I, and the old lady in whose house we lived, her niece, her granddaughter, and all our servants —went down into the garden and up to the balcony, to listen to the booming of the cannons, and the too significant echoes of the restless alarm-bell. Sometimes it ceased; a breath-suspending silence prevailed; then again the awful peals were all let loose, like so many evil spirits of destructive passions.

At five o'clock our French neighbour came and related, that the people had been victorious at all points; that the troops stationed in town had met the national guards with grape-shot on the Hof,[1] the Graben, and the Bogner Street, but that the guards and the students, defying death, had taken the cannons by storm.

In the evening, we sat with our old lady, who occupied one wing of her house where we lived, around the tea-table. Tidings spread from town with the swiftness of general excitement. Every passer-by gave accounts of what he had seen, and with what difficulty he had escaped. We repeatedly went to the balcony to catch the reports thus communicated. We heard, that the Ministry, when aware that the soldiers were in retreat, had issued orders to leave off firing, but that this command had come too late, as the streets already wore the face of a battle-field; that the Diet had assembled; finally, that Count Latour, in spite of the exertions of some members of the Diet to save him, had been hanged by the people, who considered him to have occasioned the terrible bloodshed. Later rumours said, that several of the "black and yellow," had expressed themselves with passionate hatred against the Hungarians, whom they represented as the exciters of the rebellion; and that they talked of murdering my husband, as the Hungarian representative. At this he laughed, considering it an exaggeration. I, however, was seized with inexpressible terror, and entreated him not to put off our departure to the next morning, but to proceed instantly to our destination. He yielded to me; so at 10 o'clock the very same evening, we drove in a hackney-coach towards the Hungarian frontier. I could not get rid of the toll of the alarm-bell. I fancied I heard its sound through the silent night, long after we had got beyond its reach.

[1] Hof, the place of that name, where stands the office of the Ministry of War.

Subsequently we learnt, that on the evening of that day, the Viennese Diet had sent a deputation to Schönbrunn, requesting the Emperor "to grant full amnesty to the people, to appoint a more popular ministry, to recall the decree by which Jellachich had been named Dictator of Hungary; and lastly, to return to the Imperial palace in Vienna, which, since the insurrection in May, had been abandoned by the Court." The Emperor received the deputation graciously, and promised next morning to fulfil all those requests; but during the night he fled to Olmütz, accompanied by a small number of troops.

We too travelled all night, but in a different direction, and reached Hungary at dawn. Some of the villages, belonging to the estates of Prince Eszterházy, by which our way led, appeared to be deserted. We were told, that all the male inhabitants had marched with the general levy, headed by the young Prince, Nicolas Eszterházy, to occupy the pass between the Fertö (Neusiedler-lake) and the mountains of the Laytha, and so oppose Jellachich on his road to Soprony (Oedenburg), but that when on the 5th the news had come that Jellachich was proclaimed Dictator, the young Prince had secretly left the people.

On the 7th of October, at ten o'clock in the morning, we reached Kis-Marton (Eisenstadt), and were at Soprony, in the afternoon, by four. Everywhere great excitement and enthusiasm prevailed. In Soprony, the tidings of the 6th had already arrived by rail. Every one rejoiced in the belief that, with the fall of the Ministry, the power of the "Camarilla" would likewise be broken, and that a sincere government would succeed. The dreadful fate of Latour was not lamented. He had been known as the enemy of Hungary, and as the supporter of the expedition of Jellachich; which in spite of its pitiful issue, had been a great disaster to the country. Where the Croats marched, the path was marked by plunder, robbery, and frequently by burnings. This exasperated the Hungarian peasants so much, that they killed in cold blood the Croatian stragglers and marauders.

In Soprony we found the family of Count Louis Batthyányi with himself. He was just setting out as volunteer to the nearest Hungarian division; and my husband accompanied him. The first division with which they fell in, was that of the deputy Vidos, which they found to be just disbanding. It had consisted of national guards and volunteers, who had undertaken service for eight weeks. In the preceding days they had at Canizsa courageously attacked and beaten the Croats, but now, as the eight weeks were elapsed, no eloquence could persuade them to remain longer with the army; they gave up their arms and returned home. There was nothing to be done, but instantly to assemble the national guards of other districts, who had not yet gone against the Croats. They came with great

readiness, were divided into companies, elected their subaltern officers, and prepared to march against the enemy. All this was achieved in the utmost haste; as tidings had arrived, that Jellachich, to facilitate his movements, had sent back his 18,000 worst men—the sick and badly armed—who were accompanied by two battalions of choice troops, and two batteries of artillery, under the command of his General Theodorovich. Intending to return to Croatia, or, if this should prove impossible, to retire into Styria, they were coming through the very districts in which Vidos was summoning his second levy. To bring this news, my husband hastened to Pest. The Committee of Defence entertained but a faint hope, that, after the flight of the Emperor to Olmütz, matters could be settled peaceably: it could not be blind to the probability that the Court intended to cut every question with the sword. Nevertheless the Committee and the Diet were averse to identify themselves heedlessly with the Viennese insurrection. It was resolved to proceed with as much caution as possible.

The instructions to the army were framed in the same spirit; especially since the officers, though willing to drive the enemy out of the country, were not equally ready to pursue Jellachich over the frontier; obvious though it was, that when reinforced in Austria, he would break into Hungary again. General Móga was therefore directed to claim of the Austrian Commander-General Auersperg, in proof of neutrality, to disarm Jellachich and his troops, since they had touched Austrian ground; in case this should not be complied with, General Móga was then authorized to pursue the Croats over the frontier. Yet, that every appearance should be avoided of aggression upon Austria, the General should not overstep the frontier without a summons from the legal government of Austria. However, as no Austrian ministry was to be found, some of the ministers having fled, while others accompanied the Emperor to Olmütz, and only one of them, Baron Kraus, the Minister of Finance, had remained in Vienna—no other authority now in Austria could be legally recognised, than the Diet itself, or the Executive which perhaps might be appointed by it. At the same time my husband was sent to Vienna, to explain to the Austrian Diet the state of things in Hungary, and to report to the Hungarian Committee of Defence and to the Diet whatever might happen.

In Vienna the combat on the 6th had been protracted far into the night. The soldiers had still defended the arsenal, which was taken by the people quite late. In spite of this, many still believed that, on the morrow, a decree would appear, appointing Borrosch and his friends to the ministry, and revoking the former decree concerning Jellachich; and that by these means all would be settled. But, on the contrary, on the 7th it came abroad that the Court had fled in

the night, and that, without a doubt, this insurrection of the capital would not, like the preceding ones, remain unavenged. Accordingly, most of the inhabitants of the town left it with their most precious effects. The multitude, still more alarmed by this, opposed their departure; but the officers of the National Guard allowed every one to pass.

The workmen got arms from the arsenal. But when the proposal was made to attack and destroy the 10,000 men, who, under General Auersperg, had left the town, and encamped before its gates in the park of Prince Schwarzenberg, it was opposed by the leaders of the people themselves. The Common Council even sent after the soldiers all the military effects which had been left behind in the barracks; likewise bread and meat was brought into the camp, and General Matauschek remained in Vienna to keep up relations with the Diet, as well as with the troops. All this went on, notwithstanding the utter disappearance of several guards and students, who were known to have gone to the camp, probably in the hope of gaining over the soldiers. Days afterwards, when the troops had been concentrated on another point, mutilated bodies were found in the park.

Kraus, Minister of Finance, who is still even now in the Cabinet, had remained in Vienna; and might daily be seen in the sittings of the Diet, and of its permanent Committee. The telegraph was allowed to continue active between Olmütz and Vienna; the wire had not been cut off, nor did the Diet seek for any control and knowledge of that which was telegraphed. The railway had not been disturbed; its service was not deranged for a moment.

Baron Récsey, in the mean time, found himself in the most distressing embarrassment, not knowing what to do after the flight of the Emperor. At last he resolved to send to the flying monarch his resignation as Hungarian Prime Minister, with the declaration, that the appointment of Jellachich to be Dictator seemed to him to be unlawful, and he entreated his Majesty to recall it.

In the meanwhile, Jellachich had crossed the Austrian frontier, and straightway joined Auersperg, aiding him to blockade the southern side of Vienna. Engagements of outposts took place, and the first cannon-shots were fired against the town. There the aspect of things was gloomy. The Diet, desiring to bring about an agreement, sent a deputation to the Emperor, at Olmütz, headed by Löhner. But every day its benches were visibly thinned. After the insurrection of the 6th of October the Bohemians absented themselves; some days later, Count Stadion and a part of the right were no more seen on their seats. But the Ex-minister, Pillers-dorf, and the Minister Kraus, were still there, and their presence retained the deputies of the centre and several of those belonging to the right. Besides, the Commissaries of the Frankfort Parliament, Messrs.

Welker and Mosle, were expected, and much reliance was placed on their influence.

Löhner, however, in Olmütz, got only evasive replies, and Welker and Mosle failed in courage to fulfil their mission; instead of proceeding to Vienna, they turned to Olmütz.

In such a state of things it was not surprising that the Diet opposed every energetic measure which might occasion a still greater breach with the court, as a reconciliation was still deemed possible. The Common Council, to which the defence of Vienna had been entrusted by the Diet, was a timorous and servile corporation, unable of itself to initiate any act. It merely executed what the Committee of the Diet desired or advised. The National Guard was likewise undecided: it had no reliance in its commanders, and changed them for the third time in five days. Messenhauser, who at last was appointed to this place, believed it sufficient to address several proclamations daily to the inhabitants of Vienna. About the means of resistance he knew but little. The barricades, formed without a plan, certainly could not be depended upon. Amongst the guards and the workmen great enthusiasm reigned, but no kind of discipline. Regardless of the proclamations of Messenhauser, they wasted much powder in useless shooting on the glacis, and in aimless skirmishes at the gates; while everybody knew that the ammunition of Vienna was insufficient.

In this state my husband found the capital, when he arrived there the 13th of October. He first went to the Permanent Committee of the Diet in the Imperial palace. On a table covered with papers lay a cannon-ball: several German and Galician deputies sat around, who welcomed my husband with the question: "Will the Hungarians come?" "As soon as desired by the Austrian Diet," was his answer. My husband then explained, that the Hungarian army was averse to cross the frontier without a definite summons from the Austrian Diet.

Minister Kraus entered the room, and took an animated part in the discussion which was going on. The Austrian representatives said: "We cannot summon the Hungarian army; for we cannot abandon the legal path. We are representatives of the whole empire, not of Vienna only. The defence of Vienna belongs exclusively to the Common Council, not to the Diet." My husband replied: "In this case the Hungarians will not come; for they likewise will not abandon the legal path. Jellachich has attacked them; they have driven him from their country; they have no business with General Auersperg, unless the Austrian Diet declares him an enemy." —"General Auersperg has declared *himself* an enemy," retorted the representatives. "Here is the first cannon-ball fired against the town. Auersperg began the attack. Cannon-balls surely are no

tokens of friendship. But the Diet cannot frame a resolution, declaring the General to be an enemy." The representatives then requested my husband to speak to the Common Council, as this was the legal authority, to which the Diet had entrusted the defence of Vienna. Before my husband went, Baron Kraus questioned him upon the affairs of Hungary, and repeatedly expressed his trust, that all could be brought to a peaceful conclusion.

The members of the Common Council proved more timorous still than the Committee of the Diet. Their reply was: "That they no longer had anything to do with the defence of Vienna, for which the Commander of the National Guards had been appointed; and any interference from the Council could only create confusion."

My husband proceeded in the evening to the Stallburg (a wing of the imperial palace), where the staff of the National Guards was assembled. Messenhauser, whom he had not known previously, greeted him in a friendly manner, but requested him not to speak loud, as many of the superior officers of the guard could not be relied on. "Black and yellow," they betrayed everything to Jellachich and Auersperg: for in spite of the daily skirmishes, the town and the enemy's camp were yet in manifold intercourse. My husband, therefore, in a low tone requested Messenhauser to send to the Hungarians 20,000 muskets from the arsenal; as the Hungarians were not deficient in soldiers, but in muskets, and the road by Posony was still free. Messenhauser replied: "that this he could not do; as the conveyance of arms would occasion the suspicion, that he was forwarding them to the Austrian army; for which reason he could not even permit, that those muskets should be sent to Hungary, which the Hungarian Ministry had bought in Belgium:—(these, at the end of September, when the Austrian Ministry first prohibited the export of arms to Hungary, had been seized in the Custom House:)—that he personally would not oppose the sending of arms, but the Common Council would not allow it."

Such were the revolutionists of Vienna. Like the Hungarians, they gladly would have accepted any proposal of agreement, but they would not surrender unconditionally in the very same instant in which they had cut with the sword the Gordian knot of the court intrigues.

At that period General Bem came to Vienna, meaning to proceed to Hungary, and offer his services to the government there. On his way he was requested to take upon himself the defence of the Austrian capital. He complied. Of course he was most anxious to establish an intelligence with the Commander of the Hungarian army, which was able to relieve Vienna. But in the city the leading men were averse to meddle with the Hungarian quarrel, whilst

the Hungarians who stood at the frontier, were slow to support the democratic insurrection of Vienna.

My husband could hardly doubt any longer the inevitable fate of the capital. He therefore wrote to the Permanent Committee of the Diet: "That he could not promise anything relative to the Hungarians; and that he thought the Diet would take the best measure by appealing to the Archduke John, the Regent in Francfort, to mediate as speedily as possible: that under the present circumstances, this might be the only way to save Vienna." Several of the representatives were of the same opinion, but they were all reluctant to take any decided measure, and gave themselves up to the course of events.

The 17th of October, Blum, the eloquent leader of the left in the Frankfort parliament, arrived, with his colleagues, Messrs. Froebel, Hartmann and Trampusch. Everybody expected from their arrival a turn in the Viennese transactions, greater energy, more unity, less wavering politics. But these expectations were not fulfilled: these gentlemen too were men of word but not of deed. They had the passive courage of opposition orators, and if necessary, of martyrs; not the active courage of the statesman, or the hero. My husband had but one conversation with Blum, and saw that he was not the man to direct a revolution; he therefore said to him and Messenhauser: "You are designed for martyrs; this is a grand vocation, but not that which I expressly seek: with half measures neither a peace nor a revolution can be achieved. Farewell; I go to the Hungarian army!"

In the mean time the Austrian troops took post, also on the *left* bank of the Danube. Day after day fresh battalions were conveyed on the railroad from Galicia, Moravia, and Bohemia, and encamped in the villages round Vienna. The town could no longer be quitted without danger. My husband's friends entreated him to remain, as it would be dangerous for him, a Hungarian, to pass the Austrian and Croatian outposts. But happily not attending to these warnings, he passed out unperceived, and returned to Posony.

CHAPTER VII.

PATRIOTIC AND CONSTITUTIONAL CHARACTER OF COUNT LOUIS BATTHYANYI.

At that period, the actions of Count Louis Batthyányi were severely censured by the extreme parties of both Hungary and Vienna. The men of the most decided stamp in Pest reproached him, not only on the ground that he was ready to countersign the appointment of

Count Lamberg, but likewise, that in his anxiety to avoid conflict, previous to Lamberg's arrival, he had granted, on the 27th of September, an armistice of twenty-four hours to Jellachich, who might otherwise, in that early stage of events, have been utterly beaten. Further, they thought it a grave fault, that after the murder of Lamberg, the Prime Minister left the government at the most critical moment. For this, they called him unfaithful to his fatherland.

Several months later, in January, 1849, Prince Windischgrätz detained Count Batthyányi, when sent by the diet to come to a parley with the Austrian commander. The Count was accused of high-treason; was finally sentenced by court-martial, and shot the 6th of October, at Pest, on the wood-market. His enemies have attempted to tarnish even his memory by calumnies.

But in both respects, Count Batthyányi is spotless: true to his fatherland, faithful to the law, he lived and died a patriot. The following documents, little known to the public at large, will suffice to decide the opinion of every impartial judge.

When Batthyányi heard in November that, by the extreme party in Pest, he was accused of having forsaken the cause of the fatherland, he wrote the following letter to Kossuth:—

"Dear Friend,—For six months full of difficulties, I have been worn out by the cares of public concerns. The first feeling, after I withdrew from the government, yielding to the power of circumstances, is bitterness. What can be more bitter to a true patriot, than to be accused of duplicity against the fatherland, when it is encircled by intrigues and endangered by manifold treason?

"If anybody disapproves my politics, it does not afflict me in the least. But nobody shall accuse me of having misused my influence to endanger the independence of my country.

"My whole past life—an open book since the first beginning of my public career—should prove sufficient against every suspicion. But as my last stay at Vienna occasioned suspicions, I will simply state its causes.

"You, dear friend, know well, that I went to the camp with the consent of the Committee of Defence, and of several deputies then assembled at my house. I wanted to speak with Lamberg, and persuade him, if possible, not to forsake the legal path. As, however, he was not in our camp, and as I presumed him to be in the camp of Jellachich, I sent Major Bubna to the enemy, with the knowledge of General Moga, ordering him to invite General Lamberg, in my name, to an immediate interview; but if Lamberg should not be in the enemy's camp, then my presence among our army was not to be mentioned at all. Bubna did not find Lamberg in the camp of Jellachich, but trusting that the Count would soon arrive, the Major, without my order or knowledge, made an armistice. I only men-

tion this circumstance, because the negotiation of this armistice was attributed to me, in order to raise suspicions against me.

"Meanwhile, the deputies sent by the Diet to the camp arrived with the resolution; which was not only founded on distrust of me, but likewise might possibly have the most prejudicial influence on the army.[1]

"I explained this to the deputies, and advised them, before they took any further steps, to consult on the matter with the 'corps of officers.' They did so. The officers corroborated my opinion, that it would not be safe to communicate to the soldiers the resolution of the Diet. With this the deputies complied, after the officers had declared, that in case of any attack from Jellachich, notwithstanding the Royal manifesto, by which the continuation of the contest was interdicted, they would not lay down their arms until all hostile troops should have left the Hungarian soil. I was then anxious to return to Pest. But on the road I learnt by a courier the murder of Count Lamberg. Simultaneously the messenger delivered to me three autograph letters from his Majesty, directed to myself.[2] In these letters I was directed to countersign the appointment of Lamberg as unlimited Royal Commissary; further, the appointment of George Mailath as Stadtholder of Hungary, and likewise the order authorizing the dissolution of the Diet. I speedily hastened back to speak personally with Jellachich, and convince him of Lamberg's appointment; (since he had always declared the Royal manifesto [to that effect] false and counterfeit,) and to persuade him to leave the country with his troops. As in this I did not succeed, I proceeded directly to Vienna, actuated by two motives.

"First, I wished to express my judgment concerning the unlawfulness of the autograph letters I had received; and, secondly, I was anxious to make matters up in respect to the sad end of Lamberg, lest arbitrary will and bad intention should snatch at this deed as a pretext for a *coup d'état*. I likewise went to Vienna, because I thought that there the crisis of our affairs would take place; and I wanted to arrest at its very source the danger which might threaten my fatherland.

"I therefore spoke to Wessenberg, (to whom I had always been directed,) and told him that our laws did not recognise any Lieutenant, and that according to the law, the Diet could only be prorogued or dissolved after the dicussion on the budget was ended. In regard to Lamberg, I told him, that since a criminal inquisition con-

[1] This was the resolution of the Diet on the 27th of September, declaring the uncountersigned nomination of Count Lamberg illegal, and himself a traitor if he should make use of it, and traitors all those who should obey it.

[2] The above-mentioned documents had, after the murder of Lamberg, all been found upon him.

cerning this sad event had been ordered, it could not be turned into a pretext for a *coup d'état;* so much the less, as the Diet had expressed its condemnation of the deed. At the same time I pointed out to Wessenberg, how they themselves in Vienna had *indirectly* occasioned the murder of Lamberg, by their disregard and avoidance of the lawful forms. To prevent the renewed occurrence of such unlawfulness, I requested that the appointment of Baron Vay to be Prime Minister should be sent to me, and that I would consider it my duty to countersign it.

"On the following day I got an autograph letter from his Majesty, in which my resignation was accepted, and the appointment of Baron Vay to be Prime Minister was sent to me. But also another document was included, in which I was desired to countersign the appointment of Baron Récsey to replace Prince Eszterhazy. This last I naturally did not; as the resigning Prime Minister can only countersign the appointment of his successor, who can then of himself compose his cabinet, and propose the names of his colleagues to the King. This I declared to Wessenberg in a letter, and at the same time exhorted Baron Récsey not to give himself up to be used as a tool for a '*coup d'état.*' Récsey promised to follow my advice. Not long afterwards I was informed of that notorious manifesto, which, countersigned by Récsey, overthrew the independence of Hungary.

"I went to Récsy, and reproached him, in presence of witnesses, with his fickleness and the unlawfulness to which he had lent his hand. In respect to the manifesto, I declared that this was a breach of every legal proceeding, and a declaration of war against Hungary, so that no other path was left to Hungary but to provide for its self-defence.

"After this I left Vienna, and proceeded by Soprony to my estate, where I equipped myself, and armed my servants and my former peasants. I then set out to the battle-field, that as a true son of my beloved fatherland I might not only by my advice, but likewise by the devotion of my blood and life, prove my faithfulness to my country.

"Providence, however, disposed otherwise of me, as in consequence of an unlucky fall I am doomed to inactivity. But I trust that my bruised arm will soon recover strength enough to be used against the enemy who is ravaging the country, that I may take part in the glory of victory, or, if so it must be, in the glorious death of our fatherland.

"I yet may add that I never did anything without the consent of the other ministers, and that I never listened to the proposal of measures by which the laws of 1848 might have been injured. This I have proved in my private, public, and official actions."

One year later Batthyányi had breathed his last, pierced with the balls of the riflemen. This death has awakened the sympathy of all Europe. The scaffolds of the sixteenth century seemed erected anew.

The modern Alvas had found a new Egmont to be their victim. The Viennese cabinet was struck by the impression which the scene of blood had made. The press of Europe unanimously condemned it. To give another direction to public opinion, an apology appeared on the first of November, in the official Vienna paper, defending the sentence of death pronounced against the first Prime Minister of Hungary.

Several days afterwards, German and English papers contained the following refutation:

"On the 6th of October, Count Louis Batthyányi was shot in the Holzplatz (Wood-market), at Pesth. The proceedings against the former President of the Hungarian ministry were carried on by new constitutional Austria with closed doors; we are ignorant, therefore, of the constitution of the court by which he was tried and condemned, of the nature of the accusation preferred against him, and of the means, if any really were, permitted him for the purpose of his defence; the particular laws in accordance with which he was condemned have likewise remained a secret. The sentence only on the unfortunate man has been published, and from it we learn that he was found guilty of high treason, for having, while Minister of State, violated the conditions of 'the Pragmatic Sanction,' and for having taken a part as a deputy, in November and December, in the proceedings of the Hungarian Diet, after he had resigned his office, and also for having assisted the armed resistance against Austria, by serving in the Vidos corps as a private of the national guard. The execution of Count Louis Batthyányi has been almost unanimously condemned by the press of Europe as an unwise and barbarous measure on the part of the government; it has never been considered in the light of a judicial proceeding, and even the acknowledged foreign organs of the Austrian government could offer nothing in opposition to the public opinion, and had not the courage to defend the act, although their disapprobation was but very mildly worded. It was generally expected, therefore, that the Austrian government would publish in full the proceedings of the court by which Count Batthyányi was condemned, in order to place in the hands of the people as well as of jurists, the means by which they might arrive at an impartial verdict on the late president of the Hungarian ministry as well as on the present Austrian ministry. For on the conclusion of a war like the Hungarian, it is more advantageous to the interests of the victorious governments to satisfy public opinion that

they possessed not merely the power, but the right on their sides, than to shed blood on the place of execution; the people, moreover, being generally inclined to see in all political sentences of death, only the revenge of a conqueror, and not the punishment awarded by a judge. The Austrian government has refused to throw a light on the darkness in which its proceedings have been shrouded; the acts of accusation have not been published, but instead there has appeared in the official *Wiener Zeitung* a semi-official apology for the execution of Batthyányi, which clearly does not proceed from the pen of a jurist.

"We will not discuss the bombastic and turbid style of this declamatory article, for its object is too serious for us to be detained by the manner in which it is framed; but we will at once endeavour to oppose facts to the accusation; and if, on the one side, the author of that 'apology' has been enabled to obtain trustworthy and particular information concerning the proceedings of the inquiry against, and of the condemnation of Count Louis Batthyányi, on the other side, from my former official position, I am intimately acquainted with the measures and acts of the Batthyányi ministry. Impartial jurists may then form an opinion of the constructive proof of high treason, by which not only the act but the intention is denounced as treasonable—and the intention, moreover, not proved, but from the outset considered as notorious.

"To avoid all suspicion of garbling the passages of the ministerial article, or of perverting the facts it contains, I at once extract the accusation against the Count. It is as follows:

"'He was found guilty of having created the most important lever of the insurrection by the issue of Hungarian bank notes, a proceeding which openly bears the stamp of illegality from the absence of the imperial sanction, and the subject of which notoriously was the production of the funds necessary for the separation of Hungary from the Austrian empire—a measure for which the whole ministry is undeniably responsible, but the guilt of which more particularly appertains to the Count himself as its head. He was found guilty of having, without the Emperor's sanction, levied recruits, and put on foot an armed power, thus creating an army which was destined for, and in due course employed in, waging a civil war. This crime he perpetrated not only as premier and chief of a cabinet in common with others, but also especially and individually, by assenting as early as the 14th of September, 1848, to the carrying out of the resolution of the 13th of September, in which it was enacted that an army of 200,000 men should be put on foot, and by commencing and ordaining the levy of recruits as early as the 26th of September.

"'The Count Louis Batthyányi was likewise convicted of having, by his guilty neglect of the instructions of the Emperor, and by a malicious and to secession-tending (*in dem Lossreissungsbestreben*) inactivity fomented the dissensions between Hungary and Croatia, and of having placed the state in the most fearful danger by leaving everything undone, which might have stayed that civil war in its progress.'

"The first group of accusations refers, as we see, to the relations of the Hungarian ministry to Croatia.

"Baron Jellachich was appointed Ban of Croatia at the same time that Count Batthyányi was appointed president of the Hungarian ministry. It was natural that the latter should endeavour, as speedily as possible, to effect an adjustment of the differences between Hungary and Croatia; for the news had already reached Pressburg that the first ebullitions of joy which the occurrences of March had excited in Agram, and which had effected the reconciliation of all parties, had been greatly disturbed by Dr. Gaj, who rekindled the fire of party hate (for the moment extinguished), by the information that he had been commissioned by the Archduchess Sophia and Count Kollowrat to organize a reaction against Hungary. Count Batthyányi at that time fully occupied with the Diet in Pressburg, which was considering the projects for new organic laws, wrote at once in the beginning of April, as soon as he learnt the arrival of Jellachich in Vienna, inviting him to attend the Diet at Pressburg, in order that they might come to an understanding on the Croatian question.

"Jellachich declined the invitation, but the minister was too well aware of the importance of the question, and he therefore induced the Archduke Stephen, who, as Palatine, is the legal chief of the Ban, to bring about an interview with Jellachich. The cunning Croat would not discuss business even with the Archduke; he made excuses, saying it was true that the confidence of his people in him had caused his appointment, but that he was only imperfectly acquainted with their wishes and requirements, and that therefore he must make himself thoroughly acquainted with them, previously to entering into any negotiation with either the Archduke or the President of the Hungarian ministry. The Hungarian ministry admitted this excuse, and having arrived in Pest, sent a pressing invitation to the Ban, through Archduke Stephen, to meet them at a later period, on the 10th May, in Pest, in order to settle all differences between Hungary and Croatia. He again refused to come, but excused himself in a letter to the Archduke Stephen—in his character as Archduke, and not as Palatine—in which he announced, with the usual diplomatic flourishes of the most unbounded openness and good-will, that he would not come at all, letting fall some mysterious hints concerning his future position, and of the possibility of his being eventually much misapprehended.

"Count Batthyányi, as well as the Archduke Stephen, understood thoroughly the motives of this letter; but to leave no means untried, the Hungarian ministry applied direct to the monarch, placed before him the condition of affairs, and prayed him to summon both the Hungarian ministry and the Ban of Croatia to his presence at Inn-

spruck, that both might meet and come to an understanding in presence of the Emperor.

"Meanwhile Jellachich had taken several illegal steps; amongst others he had, without the preliminary authorization of the ministry, summoned a provincial Diet; he had promulgated martial law in Croatia against all the friends of Hungary, had declared treasonable all official connexion of the Croatian authorities with the Hungarian ministry, and by so doing had violated 'the Pragmatic Sanction,' by which Hungary and Croatia are inseparably united. In reference to these proceedings a royal edict was sent to Pesth, summoning Count Batthyányi to Innspruck for the 2d June; another was addressed to Baron Jellachich, summoning him to appear before the Court to answer for his illegal proceedings, simultaneously, the assembly of the provincial Diet was denounced illegal, and ordered to be dissolved. Count Batthyányi appeared at Innspruck on the appointed day, but no Ban came: he boldly defied the order of his monarch; he opened the provincial Diet, which had been declared illegal; and his organ, the *Agram Gazette*, publicly announced that his proceedings were fully sanctioned by Archduke Charles, to whom he made regular reports on the subject. This public opposition on the part of Jellachich, caused him to be deprived, by a royal decree, dated from Innspruck, on the 10th June, of all his offices and honours, and further summoned him again to appear and to answer for himself: another royal decree ordered Field Marshal Lieutenant Baron Hrabowszky to carry the former into effect. These edicts were issued at the request of Archduke Stephen and of the whole of the Hungarian ministers. The Austrian ministers, Barons Wessenberg and Dobblhoff, who were also at Innspruck, were cognizant of these proceedings, and were in the habit of daily meeting the Hungarian ministers, Prince Eszterhazy and Count Batthyányi. But even then the Hungarian ministry wished to pursue an amicable course, and therefore called upon Archduke John to undertake the office of mediator between Croatia and Hungary; for they wished to try all possible means of adjusting the differences between the two countries, though the real demands of Croatia were not yet known in Hungary. The Archduke undertook the mediation, came to Vienna, and summoned thither Baron Jellachich (who notwithstanding the royal decrees, had been well received at Court), and Count Louis Batthyányi, for some time, in the month of July, when he contented himself with bringing the two representatives together, and, without taking the slightest part in the negotiations, returned to Frankfort. A good understanding between the two countries was then evidently undesirable to the Court. When the two opponents met for the first time, Batthyányi inquired what were the views and difficulties of the Croats, for the Hungarians were prepared to concede every moderate

demand. Jellachich replied, that he regarded as the basis of every possible understanding the abolition by the Hungarians of the Finance and War ministries sanctioned by the law of 1848, and the placing the army and finance under the immediate control of the Austrian ministry. Batthyányi remarked in reply, that that was an Austrian and not a Croatian question; and, therefore, not to be decided with Jellachich but with the Austrian ministry, who had as yet made no demand of that nature; and he again inquired what were the specific Croatian difficulties. Jellachich seemed to think them of no importance, and returned to his original proposition; the conference terminated therefore without any result.

"Such, then, was the 'intentional inactivity shown by Batthyányi in effecting a separation of the two countries,' and which he expiated with his life.

"At a much later period, when Jellachich had entered Hungary, without any cause, with an army of 65,000 men, Archduke Stephen, by the advice of Batthyányi, made another effort to obtain an amicable arrangement; he invited Jellachich to meet him on board a steamer on the Plattensee, and there, equally distant from the Hungarian and Croatian armies, to negotiate an amicable arrangement.

"Jellachich was again absent; but a theatrical effect was produced by his appearing on the borders of the lake surrounded by a body of his officers, who refused to permit (!!) him to go on board the steamer. If therefore intentional inactivity was really in fault in the breaking out of the war between Hungary and Croatia, it was most certainly not Batthyányi who deserved punishment; for he left no means untried by which a good understanding might be arrived at; on the contrary, it was Jellachich who was criminally and intentionally inactive in the matter.

"Let us, however, return to the accusation. The Hungarian Diet was opened on the 2d of July by Archduke Stephen, and the Chambers were required in the speech from the throne (which had been prepared at Innspruck, by the Austrian ministry in conjunction with the Emperor), to provide the necessary means of carrying on the war against the insurgent Servians, more particularly as the position of Croatia was becoming daily more and more dangerous.

"The Diet agreed to comply with the royal desire, and voted 60 millions florins and 200,000 recruits; 40,000 of which were to be raised immediately, and the others only in case of need. The proposed laws were submitted to the King for his sanction, about the end of August; but no answer was returned. At last the Emperor, on the 9th of September, at Schönbrunn, explained in answer to the solemn demand of the Diet, that he would guarantee the integrity of Hungary, and the involability of the laws of 1848; but that he could not, in their present form, accept the proposed laws in reference

to the issuing of bank notes and the raising of recruits. The Batthyányi ministry at once resigned. But immediately afterwards, on the 14th September, Count Batthyányi was requested by Archduke Stephen to form a new ministry, and the Emperor gave a willing consent to the step. Jellachich, who had crossed the Drave on the 9th, continued meanwhile to advance, and was approaching the capital of Hungary. Batthyányi could not expose the city to be plundered by the Croats, and he therefore published the laws which, though they had not received the sanction of the Emperor, had not been directly refused by him. *This step was approved of by the Archduke Stephen*, who placed himself, though but for a short time, at the head of the newly-formed Hungarian army. Jellachich was beaten on the 29th of September at Sukoro, Nugent on the 8th of October at Kanisa, by the undisciplined Hungarians; two days afterwards, Roth and Philipovics surrendered themselves with 10,000 men at Ozora, and the Croatian campaign was at an end. Exactly one year afterwards, Batthyányi was executed, because, according to the accusations contained in the *Wiener Zeitung*, he had at the last moment created an army with which to withstand the invasion of the Croats, and had provided the means necessary for the maintenance of the troops.

"But the apology contains still further accusations. It says—

"'He was no less convicted of having taken an active part in sundry acts and measures which ultimately tended to separate Hungary from Austria, viz.:—the alteration in the uniform and accoutrements of the Hungarian army; the use of the Hungarian language for military commands; the military oath, which makes no mention of the Emperor of Austria; the seizure of the public funds in Hungary; the prohibition of Austrian bank notes in that country; and sundry other measures which tended to interrupt the commercial communications of Hungary with the other countries of Austria.'

"If these acts and deeds were really treasonable—though they are greatly falsified by the apologist in the *Wiener Zeitung*—why did the Emperor himself approve of them? Why did he not dismiss Batthyányi and his ministry on the occurrence of the first offence—if offence it was? *Why was not Archduke Stephen, under whose presidency they were decided on, called to account?* When a monarch is discontented with his ministers, he dismisses them, and chooses others more agreeable to his views. Such is the custom in all constitutional states; but here the prime minister was allowed his own way during a period of seven months, and afterwards executed, under the sentence of a court-martial. It is a new kind of responsibility for ministers; they are not responsible to the parliament, but to the army; soldiers sit in judgment on political questions. The men of the sword decide with closed doors, and without permitting any defence, whether the ministers have or have not violated "the

Pragmatic Sanction." Their sentence is executed by the rope, or by powder and ball; and romancing journalists publish afterwards the motives of the sentence, without bringing forward any proofs. These are called constitutional proceedings in Austria.

"'He was found guilty for having sent ambassadors of his government to the republican government of France and to the Regent of Germany, with intent to embarrass the Austrian government in its (even then precarious) relations with certain foreign powers, and which falls with a twofold vengeance upon the ex-President of the Hungarian cabinet, from the fact of the doubtful policy of France against Austria respecting the Italian question. For it is obvious that the old historical grudges which France bears to Austria, were likely to be directed against the crumbling state of Austria, and it cannot be denied that their being so directed might have led to a most ruinous war.'

"The Hungarian ministry sent Mr. Dionysius Pázmándy and Mr. Ladislas Szalay to Frankfort, and *Archduke Stephen in his own name gave them their credentials;* the Hungarian minister, Prince Eszterhazy, communicated the same, together with their instructions to the Austrian government; Baron Pillersdorf approved of them; Archduke John received them in Frankfort as ambassadors from the Hungarian government, and Schmerling (at that time one of the ministers of the Central Power, and now a member of the Austrian cabinet), entered into official communication with them. But the two archdukes, with Pillersdorf and Schmerling, are not called to account for the parts they respectively took in an act for which Count Batthyányi was condemned to death as a traitor.

"Count Teleki was sent to France in September, at a time when the policy of France towards Austria was no longer a wavering one; but after the mediation of France in Italian affairs had been accepted by the Austrian government, and when Batthyányi might reasonably expect that the same mediation might possibly be extended to Hungarian affairs also: for the war had already commenced with the unjustifiable invasion of Jellachich. The instructions given to Count Teleki were to that effect; his mission was an endeavour to avoid a war and to procure peace. And because the President of the Hungarian ministry left nothing untried in his endeavours to avoid a war and to promote an amicable understanding, his lot was death.

"These are the accusations against Batthyányi contained in the sentence of death which has been published: for it cannot be considered as a crime deserving punishment by death, that he, after having ceased to be a minister, should have attended the Diet as a deputy until the end of December, and have served some days as a private in the national guard in the Vidos corps; but the apologist in the *Wiener Zeitung* goes still further. According to his statement:—

"'Count Louis Batthyányi was also found guilty of having taken part in the Vienna rebellion of the 6th of October, 1848. It is proved by an autograph

letter which Batthyányi addressed to Pulszky, on the 17th of September, that he offered M. Pulszky funds for the ostensible purpose of "gaining the sympathies of the Viennese for the Hungarian kingdom and nation." Batthyányi himself confessed that he was aware of M. Pulszky's dangerous character as an agitator and champion of M. Kossuth. It has, moreover, been proved by witnesses that Batthyányi, on his journey from Vienna to Oedenburg, in the night of the 5th of October, said, "that he had a vast deal of trouble to get the Viennese well peppered," and that on the 7th of October he informed one of his friends in Oedenburg of the assassination of Latour, adding, with evident satisfaction: "Yes, so it is, they have hanged that villain, Count Latour, and we in Hungary are all the better off for it." It is on record, that at the time it was perfectly superfluous to gain the Vienna press for the Hungarians; and what Batthyányi said about gaining them, is shown to be an empty pretence. It has lastly been proved, that Batthyányi's offer of funds was made use of, and that the sums of 4,000 florins and of 10,000 florins, for secret services, were spent on certain notorious individuals, such as Pulszky and others. The court combined these circumstances, and found Batthyányi guilty of having offered Pulszky those funds for the purpose of that person employing the said money in causing the rebellion of October, or as Batthyányi termed it, "in peppering the Viennese," and that the Count had consequently taken an active part in the said rebellion by purposely providing the ways and means for it.'

"It is well known that the Austrian government considered it of vital importance that the world should believe that the Vienna insurrection of the 6th October was caused by the liberal distribution of Hungarian money. The correspondents of the different papers spoke at first of millions, then of hundreds of thousands, and the author of this apology now reduces the sum to 14,000 florins, or about £1,400, and says that the openly acknowledged purpose of the cheque for 4,000 florins sent by Count Batthyányi on the 17th of September for the purpose of 'winning the sympathies of the press in favour of the Hungarian cause' was a mere pretence, because it is notorious that any attempt to engage the sympathies of the press of Vienna in favour of Hungary was quite superfluous, from the condition of affairs at that time.

"If, however, the author of this apology had inquired of the former courts-martial in Vienna, he would have found that exactly in the month of September, 1848, the press of Vienna was nearly unanimous in its attacks on the Hungarian minister; the Sclavonic party was united with the German in this question, and Hungary, which refused to give up its nationality, and destroy its aristocracy, was considered a dangerous enemy, as well by the Sclavonic and Bohemian parties, as by the democrats of Germany; and the Austrian government fanned the flame of polemics. Batthyányi and Kossuth were daily calumniated, and I was required by the Hungarian ministry, in September, to lay accusations against no less than five different periodicals and pamphlets. So great was the sympathy of the Vienna press in our behalf! It is further notorious, that the Hungarian ministry possessed a semi-official organ in Vienna, the *Völkerbund;*

but the moderate and dignified tone of this paper was not so likely to exercise any great influence, in consequence of the heated passions of the other journals, and of the little political education enjoyed by the public of Vienna; in the month of August it ceased to appear, and the cheque of 4,000 florins was partly used in liquidating the claims upon it, and partly also in publishing several well-known documents and pamphlets, throwing a light upon the Croatian confusion, and partly also in purchasing a copy of the important correspondence between Rajacsics, Stratimirovics, and the minister Latour. The remaining 10,000 florins were spent in recruiting the free corps, which marched against the insurgent Servians with the knowledge of Baron Dobblhoff, at that time Austrian Minister of the Interior, between whom and the Hungarian ministry a long correspondence had taken place on the subject. This enlistment of volunteers only commenced, however, when Jellachich had begun, in Vienna, publicly to enlist recruits for his army, likewise with the sanction of the ministry, and had posted placards addressed to the students for the purpose of engaging them to raise a third free corps, which was established in Bohemia under Stùr and Hurban, with the acknowledged object of invading Hungary. Baron Dobblhoff could have afforded the most satisfactory information in this matter to the court-martial; but if we are to credit the statement of the author of the apology, the court-martial preferred considering it as notorious that the 14,000 florins had been used for the purposes of revolutionizing Vienna. Its members, however, were well aware, from the results of the Windischgrätz inquiry, that it was impossible to prove the distribution of money; for, notwithstanding the proclamation of martial law and the numerous executions, no confession can be brought forward proving the receipt of Hungarian money on the 5th of October by anybody for the purpose of creating a disturbance or opposing the authorities on the 6th. The author of the "Apology" assumes that 14,000 florins were divided amongst the mob. We call upon him openly to declare by whom, and when and where, they were distributed. That upon this occasion the organ of men with the private character of Prince Schwarzenberg and the public one of a Dr. Alexander Bach and Ritter Von Schmerling, should be pleased to term me a 'notorious individual,' belongs only to the style of the journals which are the organs of martial law, and which, in order to prevent any one from attempting to elucidate the merits of this sentence, set out by denouncing all as enenies to civil order and civilization who shall venture to defend Count Batthyányi.

"These then are the facts upon which the sentence of Count Batthyànyi is based; but every one knows that he was executed because he adhered to the laws of 1848, and trusted to the solemn promises of a faithless monarch; because in his character as a minister he

refused to follow the examples of those, who, though liberals previous to March, did not refuse to aid in bringing back step by step the old system of despotism, and because he would not share the reputation of a Bach and a Schmerling. History will pronounce its verdict as to who was guilty of treason—whether the firm-minded Count Batthyànyi, or those apostates who procured his execution, and whose policy is concentrated in the words, Populis non est servanda fides."

FRANCIS PULSZKY.

London, Nov. 16, 1849.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE BATTLE OF SCHWECHAT.

IN Pressburg great activity reigned. Major Klapka[1] fortified the heights and the town. Old and young hastened to work at entrenchments. Hospitals were erected in the town; whence likewise the chief supplies were sent to the army, which encamped close to Posony, on the right bank of the Danube, from Köpcsény to Parendorf.

In the army itself opinions varied considerably, whether to overstep the frontier, or halt within its bounds. Csányi, the commissary of the country, and Ujházy, then commissary of Pressburg, were anxious to assist the Viennese, and in conjunction with them to beat Jellachich and the slowly gathering forces of Windischgrätz. The Hungarian troops likewise ardently desired to renew the combat against the followers of the Croatian leader, by whomever reinforced. On the other side Pázmándy, the President of the House of Commons, and Asztalos, one of the deputies, who were also with the army, opposed by all means the crossing of the boundaries, and their opinion was backed by the greater number of officers. The Viennese Diet had by this time, as the town was more and more enclosed by the Imperial troops, come to a resolution, which though not a definite summons to the Hungarian army, yet expressed that if it crossed the Austrian boundaries, this would not be considered an inimical act. But simultaneously came the tidings that Prince Windischgrätz had arrived before Vienna, with unlimited power from the Emperor,

[1] Klapka, afterwards commander of Komorn, distinguished by his animating courage, and crowned with success. He gained the first as well as the last victory against the Austrians; the 12th of January, at Tokaj against Schlick, and the 5th of August against Csorich at Komárom.

and would soon issue an explicit manifesto, which would solve every doubt, and sharply define that peculiar obscurity which at present kept the two opposed armies, to a certain extent, in ignorance whether they were to be friends or foes.

From Pest Kossuth approached with a reinforcement of 12,000 men—speedily collected volunteers—and thirty cannons. Under these circumstances it was natural that the troops, who had already crossed the frontier, again halted, to await Kossuth. Meanwhile Windischgrätz had wholly surrounded Vienna, issued a manifesto, and communicated it to the Hungarian army. He said, that he had been appointed Commander, with unlimited powers, for the whole monarchy, with the exception of Italy, all civil and military power being concentrated in his hands. Without any precise expression of his intentions, without any intimation as to what might be hoped and feared, he summoned all staff-officers of the Hungarian army, to proceed without delay to his head-quarters.

Kossuth arrived at the Hungarian camp; my husband informed him of the state of things in Vienna: that if the Hungarian troops should advance, it was requisite to apprise the Viennese of it; and, if possible, to call Bem to the Hungarian camp, and come to an understanding with him on the plan of attack. To that purpose a letter was sent to Vienna. The courier succeeded in getting through the Austro-Croatian armies: the despatch actually reached Messenhauser: but neither Bem, nor any other Viennese officer appeared in the Hungarian camp. Bem never had been informed of the message. Messenhauser, ever trusting in the possibility of an agreement with the Court, had not communicated the letter.

The 24th of October, Kossuth came to the camp at Parendorf. He mustered the troops, inspiring them with glowing words to loud enthusiasm. On the following day, he assembled all the officers, read to them the proclamation of Windischgrätz, and declared every one free to leave the Hungarian army; but he likewise called upon them with the power of his eloquence to remain true to the country. At the conclusion of the first speech, the body of officers of every regiment was summoned to declare in writing, whether it would remain in the Hungarian service, and would fight against the enemies of the country, whoever these might be, or whether it would not? About a hundred officers, most of them foreigners, but likewise several Hungarians, declared, that under the reigning circumstances, they could no longer serve Hungary, and took their leave after they had pledged themselves not to fight against Hungary for six months. The next days were spent in reorganizing the staff of officers.

Colonel Iványka was sent as herald to Prince Windischgrätz with the summons to discontinue the bombardment of Vienna, and re-establish the intercourse between this town and Hungary, which

to the great damage of the country had been forcibly interrupted by the Austro-Croatian army. If the Prince would not listen to this, he would be considered an enemy.

Iványka had offered himself for this mission, deaf to the entreaties of his friends who tried to dissuade him from it. But his bride lived in the neighbourhood; he wanted to seize the opportunity to see her, and went. Next day, his companion, an officer of the national guard, returned very much alarmed, and related: "That Prince Windischgrätz had received them kindly, and discharged them, sending an Austrian officer to escort them through the Austrian army; but when they came to the camp of Jellachich, he retained Iványka prisoner, regardless of his inviolability as *parlementaire*."

The comrades of Iványka were indignant. The army, in which the gallant officer had been popular, became eager to meet the enemy, who, contrary to every law of nations, had imprisoned a *parlementaire*.

The 27th of October, the superior officers were called together. Kossuth was present at a council of war. The cannon shots directed against Vienna were audible. General Móga, the commander of the army, Colonel Kolmann, the chief of the staff, and Pázmándy, the President of the House of Commons, were absolutely averse to every offensive movement. They proposed that the army should retire from the Austrian frontier, should abandon Vienna to its fate, and turn against General Simonich, who, several days before, had, with 12,000 men, broken from Galicia into Hungary, obviously with the aim of inciting the Sclavonic counties to an insurrection.

This scheme indeed failed; but easily overcoming the resistance which the national guards of the county of Trencsény opposed to him, he had approached Nagy-Szombath, (Tyrnau,) by the valley of the Vág. In the opinion of those gentlemen, Simonich might easily be cut off from the Austro-Croatian army before Vienna, and then would certainly be annihilated by Hungarians. Against this, Colonel Görgey voted for advancing, provided however that a man were entrusted with the command, whose name would be a guarantee against treachery—a man of whom every one knew, that if taken prisoner by the Austrians, the gallows would be his destiny. "General Móga," he said, "highly as he respected him, had for many a long year been an Austrian officer. His ancient comrades now stood in the enemy's ranks; the troops therefore had no reliance on him."

Görgey in giving this description of a commander, had pointed at himself. In the Isle of Csepel, on the 29th of September, he had, as President of a court-martial, sentenced the Count Eugene Zichy to be hanged. The Count was carrying on his person proclamations of Jellachich, which summoned the Hungarian troops to desert;

with these he had been taken prisoner by his own peasants, who brought him to Görgey. Before him he confessed his connection with Jellachich and with General Róth, to whom he had sent provisions. Nobody at that time was able to believe, that Görgey could ever be pardoned by the Austrians for the execution of Count Zichy. But only one year after this, General Móga, whom according to Görgey's expression, no one trusted, has been sentenced by the Austrians to five years' heavy imprisonment, while Görgey lives undisturbed in Klagenfurt, under Austrian protection!

The younger members of the staff voted unconditionally for advancing. The roar of cannons carried by the wind from Austria to Hungary, and thrilling every heart with fellow-feeeling for the inhabitants of the endangered capital, powerfully influenced this opinion.

Kossuth said: "Though Hungary stood in no connection with Vienna, yet it is a duty of honour to hasten to the aid of the Viennese, as they have risen in opposition to the war against Hungary. If we win a battle, it will decide the fate of the Austrian Monarchy and of all Germany; if we lose one, it will not discourage the nation, but will spur it to the greater sacrifices. But to be passive at the very threshold of the scene of action, would lower the Hungarians with foreign countries, and in the country itself would cool enthusiasm." This reasoning decided.

The staff planned the detail of operations, and the order to advance was given the 27th of October.

On the following day the Hungarian army passed the frontier, and having traversed the intervening ground without opposition, by evening reached the river Fischa, near Enzersdorf and Neusiedel. The right wing remained in the rear, and not till the following morning occupied the position of Fischament. The country people in Austria greeted the Hungarian army with much sympathy; and, as it saw that nothing was taken with a high hand, but that food and carriage were paid with ready money in Austrian bank notes, there was no difficulty in providing the army with everything necessary. In the night a great signal fire was lighted, close to the Fischa, on a hill, which, with the telescope, could be well distinguished from the tower of St. Stephen. Not far from that hill, in a wood, under a large tree, was the head-quarters. Kossuth and the generals sat here round a fire, roasted lard and baked potatoes, and slept on the dry foliage. The next day the troops slowly advanced; they had not yet met any resistance, and towards evening encamped on the height, opposite to Mannswörth and Schwechat. In the distance the fires of the Austrian camp were visible.

The 30th of October, a heavy mist covered all around. No thunder of cannons resounded from the walls of Vienna, the steeple

of St. Stephen's tower could not be seen: it therefore was not known whether the besieged had observed the signal fire, which announced the approach of the Hungarian army, and whether they, in consequence, would be ready to support, by a sally, the attack of the Hungarians. If it could have been presaged that Vienna had already, on the preceding day, made an armistice, and declared its willingness to capitulate, the Hungarian leaders certainly would not have been so rash, as with 30,000 men, 5,000 of whom were only armed with scythes, to attack the army of Windischgrätz consisting of 70,000 regular troops.

At eight o'clock in the morning, sounded the first cannon-shot from the Austrian army: the Hungarians greeted it with joyful "éljen" (hurrah).

At ten o'olock, Major Guyon charged with the bayonets, and gained possession of Mannswörth. The right wing advanced victoriously, and defeated the Croats, who opposed it. At noon it would have stormed Schwechat, but the left wing had not yet advanced. The cavalry of the enemy concentrated here to outflank the Hungarians. Every moment a cavalry attack was expected from both sides, but it did not take place. The right wing, however, could not advance further, as the line would have been broken. A vigorous cannonade ensued, without serious damage on either side. The Hungarians thought every moment to hear the cannons roar from Vienna. The mist had subsided. In the city, it could no longer be unknown that a battle was going on its neighbourhood. A deadly silence, however, reigned there, and the display of continually increasing numbers of troops on the Austrian side, plainly showed that Windischgrätz was able to dispose of his whole force, undistracted by any sally from Vienna, without which the battle could no longer be of service. In fact, all attack from the Hungarians alone was necessarily aimless. It was four in the afternoon: Moga wished to command a retreat, that at night he might resume his strong position on the heights behind the Fischa. But Kossuth, who, with my husband, was always at Moga's side, wanted to leave the Viennese a farther interval, for attempting their rescue. At that moment, two rockets fell in the midst of a battalion of peasants from the county of Komárom, who were only armed with scythes, and already began to lose steadiness by passive exposure to the cannonade during whole hours. Seized by terror, they fled, and threw into confusion the right wing, which had fought so bravely. Thereupon, it became necessary to issue orders for the retreat, which was ably covered by the left wing, under Colonel Répásy, and by the reserve. Kossuth named Görgey who had bravely headed the vanguard, general on the battle-field itself, and hastened after the Komárom fugitives to bring them to a halt. This, he at last effected in Fischament. The

troops could again be assembled, and they encamped. The enemy did not advance: he seemed unaware of the confusion in the right wing of the Hungarian army. But order was hardly restored, when a second panic seized the national guards of Komárom. This time, their flight could not be stopped, and they carried along, in wild disorder, the battalion which stood before them. Windischgrätz might then easily, with a single division of cuirassiers, have taken prisoner the whole right wing of the Hungarians; their centre could have been outflanked, and annihilated; but the Prince appears to have had no notion of the disorganization that reigned in the ranks opposed to him. The Székely infantry covered the retreat with a battery; no foe interfered. The Hungarians had lost about two hundred men; the Austrians nearly double. This was the whole material result of the battle of Schwechat.

My husband came to Posony with the rear-guard of the right wing. He had driven to the battle-field with Kossuth; during the battle he remained on horseback at General Moga's side; at the retreat, he was in great part on foot; but at last an officer got a horse for him. He had had full opportunity of observing all that had been going on, and to form a judgment about the spirit of the army. The hussars had not been in the least discouraged by the battle, but the Hungarian foot-battalions were, as yet, utterly deficient in military composure. They consisted in a mixture of national guards, volunteers of all kinds, with few regular troops. Enthusiasm gave them union, but not unity. The officers, who had been just appointed, possessed the general confidence, but many of them had not the requisite military knowledge, and entertained the greatest distrust of General Moga. During the retreat, achieved in perfect order by the centre and the left wing, Moga had fallen with his horse, and gave in his resignation. In his stead, Görgey received the chief command.

Kossuth had not, for a moment, lost his energy. To raise the moral courage of the army, he directly sent an expedition against Simonich, who stood in Nagy-Szombath (*Tyrnau*). Guyon, who, in acknowledgment of his bravery at Mannswörth, had been made colonel, and now was appointed to his new duty, was too late to surprise the Austrian general, who had retreated into Moravia, before the arrival of the Hungarians.

The first weeks of November were spent in Pressburg in re-organizing the Hungarian army. Kossuth discerned that Görgey possessed exactly that talent of organization which can develope and compose armies. When, therefore, General Bem, came from Vienna to Posony wounded and in disguise, Kossuth thought it prudent to avoid all rivalry, and not to retain the Polish hero at the army, but send him for the moment to Pest.

All these particulars my husband related to me, when in November, after a separation of more than a month, we met again at Györ on the steam-boat, which conveyed us to Pest.

Whilst the events happened, which I have been narrating, I had, with one short interruption, been all along at Soprony, where my husband, when he left with Count Batthyányi, had entrusted me to the care of a friend. On the 10th of October, however, I returned by rail to Vienna, to recover our little boys, whom, on the 6th, I had left with my parents, not venturing to carry them with us, as I then did not know what circuits we might be obliged to take on account of the Croats.

When, late in the evening of the 10th, I arrived at the terminus in Vienna, I found it occupied by soldiers of Auersperg's. Notwithstanding this, the passports were not strictly examined, and there was no difficulty in passing. I drove to town to my parents' abode. I was obliged to step out of the carriage on the place of St. Stephen, as there a small barricade prevented free communication. This, however, was a mock-barricade, only intended to aid the beggary of some urchins, who stood there to hand people over the scattered stones. Of effectual barricades I found hardly any trace on my road. The marks the cannon-balls had left in several walls, and less life than I had been accustomed to in the streets, were the only tokens of uncommon events and of an abnormal state. I found my mother had gone to Penzing with the children, whither accordingly I proceeded without delay. There I instantly packed up; for, aware of the approach of Jellachich towards Vienna, I was anxious to get away the little ones before the passage of the rail could be stopped. On the following morning I sent to some of our young Hungarian friends, employed in the ministry, and requested one of them especially to accompany me, and not to risk being cut off from Hungary. He objected, that he had not received his dismissal, and therefore was bound to remain. Poor young man, oh, that he had then come with me! True to his word, he quietly remained in the office, not taking any part in the Viennese revolution: nevertheless, he was sentenced to two years imprisonment, for having (as the sentence of the court-martial says) hidden General Bem for twenty-four hours, after his proscription by Prince Windischgrätz.

The 11th I returned to Soprony. I anxiously expected tidings from my husband, which, however, I got but scantily. From the newspapers I first learnt that the Hungarian Diet had sent him back to Vienna. In Soprony of course everybody was alive to the events of the day. Different as were the feelings amongst the old citizens and the young enthusiasts, yet there was but one unanimous cry of indignation against the Croatian hordes, a part of which, abandoned

by Jellachich, ravaged the villages through which their way led. The direction to which they were compelled being known, the order was given to level the dike of Pomogy in the marshes of Esterház, and thus cut off the 18,000 men under Theodorovich; who, already disorganized by disease and plundering, could then easily have been defeated. But most of the officers of the National Guards of the county of Soprony, (of whom a great, and it seems the bravest, part were already gone down to the Croatian frontier,) most unwillingly left the comforts of their home for the unpleasant chances of a warlike expedition. At last they set out with great apparatus and noise.

Their return was as modest and silent a contrast to their marching off as Lent after Carnival; and it was only by whispers that the details concerning the escape of the Croats were communicated. The trophies carried off by the valiant burghers of Soprony were sadly looking indeed—from thirty to forty miserable men, who had been caught and given up by the Sclavonic and German population of villages which had suffered from their robberies. That they had really committed such and other more cruel enormities, was practically proved by the money, rings, handkerchiefs, dresses, ribands, &c., especially ornaments and attire belonging to *females*, found upon the wretches, when they were taken prisoners. Poor wretches indeed! such I found them, when I went with a Croatian gentleman to the room where they were confined. Many of them were old; all looked like peasants, as I had seen them during the famine, but certainly like the worst of them. Clad in rags, I recollect none with shoes; their feet were huddled up in torn remnants of coarse linen.

By my companion, who was the countryman of the poor victims, I inquired whether, if set at liberty, they would again invade Hungary? "Oh no!" was their reply: "we were forced to go, and were told we should return home well rewarded in four weeks: now more than double that time has elapsed, and we are miserable, far from our wives and children."

These were soldiers of Jellachich, represented by his admirers as the chivalrous leader of gallant champions, whom his example and eloquence exalted to enthusiastic bravery?

No braver than the burghers of Soprony proved the citizens of Köszegh. Here the troops under Theodorovich escaped again, the National Guards giving way, before the Hussars in pursuit could overtake the Croats. Those of them who were taken prisoners in this affair were massacred in a dreadful way by the levy *en masse*, which had proved too cowardly to fight them. The perpetrators of this shameful deed were afterwards hanged by the Austrians.

The public feeling distinctly expressed itself for an inveterate pursuit of Jellachich: the lingering of the Hungarians, and the inde-

cisive measures, of the Viennese occasioned general apprehension. After this, the fall of the Austrian capital, and the retreat of the Hungarians, filled many a heart with anguish, but took no one by surprise.

Letters of course were intercepted; my husband seldom got tidings from me, and was in great fear that I had fallen into the hands of the Croats in attempting to join him. Happily, my excellent friends in Soprony had dissuaded me from so hazardous an undertaking.

After a long year, containing ages of events, I remember with warm gratefulness the kind-hearted friendship I experienced at Soprony, under one and the same roof with the wife of an officer in the Austrian army opposed to the ranks in which my husband stood. This caused no disharmony; we feared and hoped together, with a different turn of mind, but both with feelings of love!

Whilst the Hungarian army had advanced in vain to the relief of Vienna, the Bishops of Hungary, who had been assembled in Pest, tried once more the often failed attempt of an understanding with the Court. The earnest endeavours in this direction, made by the diet, Count Batthyányi and the Archduke Stephen, had all proved fruitless. All means had been tried to avoid civil conflict. But where the statesmen had been powerless, the spiritual guardians still perhaps might hope to succeed. The Bishops, therefore, sent the following address to the Emperor at Olmütz:—

"Sire! Penetrated with feelings of the most profound sorrow, at the sight of the innumerable calamities and the internal evils which desolate our unhappy country, we respectfully address your Majesty, in the hope that you may listen with favour to the voice of those, who, after having proved their inviolable fidelity to your Majesty, believe it to be their duty, as heads of the Hungarian Church, at last to break silence, and to bear to the foot of the throne their just complaints, for the interests of the Church, of the Country, and of the Monarchy.

"Sire!—We refuse to believe that your Majesty is correctly informed of the present state of Hungary. We are convinced that your Majesty, in consequence of your being so far away from our unhappy country, knows neither the misfortunes which overwhelm her, nor the evils which immediately threaten her, and which place the throne itself in danger, unless your Majesty applies a prompt and efficacious remedy, by attending to nothing but the dictates of your own good heart.

"Hungary is actually in the saddest and most deplorable situation. In the south, an entire race, although enjoying all the civil and political rights recognised in Hungary, has been in open insurrection

for several months, excited and led astray by a party which seems to have adopted the frightful mission of exterminating the Magyar and German races, which have constantly been the strongest and surest support of your Majesty's throne. Several thriving towns and villages have become a prey to flames, and have been totally destroyed; thousands of Magyar and German subjects are wandering about without food or shelter, or have fallen victims to indescribable cruelty, for it is revolting to repeat the frightful atrocities by which the popular rage, let loose by diabolical excitement, ventured to display itself.

"These horrors were, however, but the prelude of still greater evils, which were about to fall upon our country. God forbid, that we should afflict your Majesty with the hideous picture of all our misfortunes. Suffice it to say, that the different races who inhabit your kingdom of Hungary, stirred up, excited one against the other by infernal intrigues, only distinguish themselves by pillage, incendiarism, and murder, perpetrated with the greatest refinement of atrocity.

"Sire!—The Hungarian nation, heretofore the firmest bulwark of Christianity and civilization against the incessant attacks of barbarism, often experienced rude shocks in that protracted struggle for life and death; but at no period did there gather over her head so many and so terrible tempests, never was she entangled in the meshes of so perfidious an intrigue, never had she to submit to treatment so cruel, and at the same time so cowardly—and yet, oh! profound sorrow! all these horrors are committed in the name, and, as they assure us, by the order of your Majesty.

"Yes, Sire, it is under your government, and in the name of your Majesty, that our flourishing towns are bombarded, sacked, and destroyed. In the name of your Majesty, they butcher the Magyars and Germans. Yes, Sire! all this is done; and they incessantly repeat it, in the name and by the order of your Majesty, who nevertheless have proved, in a manner so authentic and so recent, your benevolent and paternal intentions towards Hungary—in the name of your Majesty, who in the last Diet of Presburg, yielding to the wishes of the Hungarian nation, and to the exigencies of the time, consented to sanction, and confirm by your royal word and oath, the foundation of a new constitution, established on the still broader foundation of a perfectly independent government!

"It is for this reason the Hungarian nation, deeply grateful to your Majesty, accustomed also to receive from her King nothing but proofs of goodness really paternal, when he listens only to the dictates of his own heart, refuses to believe, and we her chief pastors also refuse to believe, that your Majesty either knows or sees with indifference, still less approves, the infamous manner in which the

enemies of our country and of our liberties compromise the kingly majesty, arming the populations against each other, shaking the very foundations of the constitution, frustrating legally-established powers, seeking even to destroy in the hearts of all, the love of subjects for their sovereign, by saying that your Majesty wishes to withdraw from your faithful Hungarians the concessions solemnly sworn to and sanctioned in the last Diet, and finally, to wrest from the country her character of a free and independent kingdom.

"Already, Sire! have these new laws and liberties, giving the surest guarantees for the freedom of the people, struck root so deeply in the hearts of the nation, that public opinion makes it our duty to represent to your Majesty, that the Hungarian people could not but lose that devotion and veneration, consecrated and proved on so many occasions up to the present time, if it were attempted to make them believe that the violation of the laws, and of the government sanctioned and established by your Majesty, is committed with the consent of the King.

"But if, on the one hand, we are strongly convinced that your Majesty had taken no part in the intrigues so basely woven against the Hungarian people, we are not the less persuaded, that that people, taking arms to defend their liberty, have stood on legal ground, and that in obeying instinctively the supreme law of nations, *which demands the safety of all*, they have at the same time saved the dignity of the throne and the monarchy, greatly compromised by advisers as dangerous as they are rash.

"Sire! We, the chief pastors of the greatest part of the Hungarian people know better than any others their noble sentiments; and we venture to assert, in accordance with history, that there does not exist a people more faithful to their monarchs than the Hungarians, when they are governed according to their laws.

"We guarantee to your Majesty, that this people, such faithful observers of order and of the civil laws in the midst of the present turmoils, desire nothing but the peaceable enjoyment of the liberties granted and sanctioned by the throne.

"In this deep conviction, moved also by the sacred interests of the country and the good of the Church, which sees in your Majesty her first and principal defender, we, the Bishops of Hungary, humbly entreat your Majesty patiently to look upon our country now in danger. Let your Majesty deign to think a moment upon the lamentable situation in which this wretched country is at present, where thousands of your innocent subjects, who formerly all lived together in peace and brotherhood on all sides, notwithstanding differences of races, now find themselves plunged into the most frightful misery by their civil wars.

"The blood of the people is flowing in torrents—thousands of

your Majesty's faithful subjects are, some massacred, others wandering about without shelter, and reduced to beggary—our towns, our villages are nothing but heaps of ashes—the clash of arms has driven the faithful people from our temples, that have become deserted—the mourning Church weeps over the fall of religion, and the education of the people is interrupted and abandoned.

"The frightful spectre of wretchedness increases and developes itself every day under a thousand hideous forms. The morality, and with it the happiness of the people, disappears, in the gulf of civil war.

"But let your Majesty also deign to reflect upon the terrible consequences of these civil wars; not only as regards their influence on the moral and substantial interests of the people, but also as regards their influence upon the security and stability of the monarchy. Let your Majesty hasten to speak one of those powerful words which calm the tempests!—the flood rises, the waves are gathering, and threaten to engulf the throne!

Let a barrier be speedily raised against those passions excited and let loose with infernal art amongst populations hitherto so peaceable. How is it possible to make people who have been inspired with the most frightful thirst—that of blood—return within the limits of order, justice, and moderation?

"Who will restore to the regal Majesty the original purity of its brilliancy, of its splendour, after having dragged that Majesty in the mire of the most evil passions? Who will restore faith and confidence in the Royal word and oath? Who will render an account to the tribunal of the living God, of the thousands of individuals who have fallen, and fall every day, innocent victims to the fury of civil war!

"Sire! our duty as faithful subjects, the good of the country, and the honour of our religion, have inspired us to make these humble but sincere remonstrances, and have bid us raise our voices! So, let us hope, that your majesty will not merely receive our sentiments, but that, mindful of the solemn oath that you took on the day of your coronation, in the face of Heaven, not only to defend the liberties of the people, but to extend them still further—that mindful of this oath, to which you appeal so often and so solemnly, you will remove from your royal person the terrible responsibility that these impious and bloody wars heap upon the throne, and that you will tear off the tissue of vile falsehoods with which pernicious advisers beset you, by hastening with prompt and strong resolution, to recall peace and order to our country, which was always the firmest prop to your throne! in order that, with Divine assistance, that country, so severely tried, may again see prosperous days; in order

that, in the midst of profound peace, she may raise a monument of eternal gratitude to the justice and paternal benevolence of her King.

"Signed at Pest, the 28th October, 1848,

"THE BISHOPS OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH OF HUNGARY."

Bishop Fogarassy, who in the names of the Bishops presented this address at Olmütz, was ungraciously received and dismissed with an empty answer. The difficulties of the empire were not submitted to the decision of moral powers; the ideas of the age were met with battle, not with argument. But if the voice of the Bishop met with no willing ear at Court, the following pastoral letter, addressed to the people, was eagerly listened to.

PASTORAL LETTER OF THE CATHOLIC BISHOPS OF HUNGARY TO THE FAITHFUL.

"Health and blessing to our dear brethren in Christ!

"Our weakness has always been in need of the consolation and support of religion; but it particularly requires this assistance when extraordinary evils afflict us. It is then that we require a supernatural strength, to enable us to fulfil our duties. The Holy Catholic Church, faithful to the examples of the first Christians, although addressing herself daily to the Source of health and blessing, to implore the enjoyment of our earthly existence, hastens to invite the faithful to public prayer, in these days of imminent peril, when the greatest sorrow afflicts the soul.

"In this time of desolation, when the hatred sown between races, hitherto living in perfect harmony, destroys the peace of our native country; when a ruthless enemy, murdering and pillaging, commits the greatest atrocities, we have commanded the pastors of churches confided to our directions, to celebrate extraordinary religious services, as long as the sad condition of our country continues unameliorated!

"When six months ago, our constitution, eight centuries old, was modified at the Diet of Presburg, according to the exigencies of the times and the wishes of the nation, and its benefits extended to all the sons of our native land, without distinction of class, language, or creed; when the independent government, sanctioned by the King, received its powers, no one would have believed it possible ever to attack that free constitution, or to excite the other races against the Hungarians.

"The good that was obtained having become the good of all, the sincere alliances of races ought on the contrary to have been strengthened; barriers and walls amongst races, as amongst classes, ought to have fallen for ever.

"With what joy we saw liberty and civil rights extended to our fellow-countrymen—with what eagerness we passed forward to facilitate the realization of the wishes of the country—we have proved by the sacrifices we have imposed upon ourselves. We were convinced, that if the liberty of the entire people, and consequently that of our faithful Catholics, was increased; that if they acquired the means of ameliorating their lot, our holy Church would become greater through the spiritual and material elevation of her children, and that they would attach themselves more closely to her in praising the Lord for the benefits with which he had covered us, by the hands of the legislators of the country.

"It is for this reason that we hastened to make known to the clergy of our dioceses, that they should point the attention of their hearers to the greatness and liberality of the new laws, in order that the faithful might conscientiously fulfil their duties (particularly obedience to the King, and to the legal authorities), which their new rights imposed upon them.

"To our intense sorrow, the peace of our country has been troubled for several months; but at least it is a consolation to us, to see that our exhortations in favour of obedience and patriotism have not been uttered in vain.

"Thanking God for this result, and grateful for the noble conduct of the clergy of our diocese, we entreat them, as well as all the faithful, with the tenderest expression of fatherly love, still to observe their indefatigable zeal, their immovable fidelity to order, to repel the overtures of the anarchists, and to obey sincerely the commands of the authorities charged with the defence of the country. Let them abstain from every violation of the laws, divine and civil; let them exhibit in everything an entire submission to the authorities, who are exerting their utmost to re-establish order and public peace. It is to them those words of the apostle of nations applies: 'There is no power on earth which does not come from God, and it is He who has established all those that are upon the earth.'

"But as the fate of the people is in the hands of God; as, if He allows our country to be laid waste by war, He is sufficiently good and sufficiently powerful to calm the tempest, to cause serene days of happiness, peace, and union again to flourish; as our arms and our strength are insufficient to save the country;—we expect the faithful of our Church, before all things, to invoke the goodness of the Almighty, to pray Him to restore us tranquillity, to enlighten the understandings of those whom our enemies have led astray, and who are fighting in the name of an imaginary freedom, at the very time when freedom is granted to them, and when nothing remains for them but to gather the fruits in peace.

"Press forward into our churches, round the altar of the Lord.

If you trust in God, if you derive your strength from religion, you will be strong, persevering in the struggle, prepared for every patriotic service; for he follows the law, who according to the precepts of the gospel and of the Apostles, follows it by obedience, not to men, but to God; freely and without constraint.

"We exhort you, our dear brethren in Christ, to be of unflinching fidelity to your country, of courageous devotion in her defence, of sincere obedience to the authorities, who in this hour of danger, are obliged to ask you for greater services than heretofore. Be convinced that they are endeavouring to win your liberty, and with it your happiness on earth. Consider it is your most sacred duty to submit yourselves to the legal authorities of the country; to live amongst them in peace and love, mutually to assist each other, to sustain the weak, to encourage the timid, to punish the enemies of order. Have patience and courage, and hope in the grace of God, which, far from allowing you to sink under the weight of battle, will recompense your perseverance by the blessings of peace. To Him, the Eternal King, the Immortal Lord, invisible and wise, be glory and praise for ever and ever. Amen!"

CHAPTER IX.

THE SERBS AND WALLACHS.

Most of the dreadful cruelties mentioned in the address of the Bishops were committed by the Serbs in the lower parts of the country. I have not spoken before of their insurrection, not to withdraw attention from the scenes going on before our eyes; but now I shall attempt to sketch connectedly the outlines of the events in Lower Hungary.

Of all the Sclavonian races in Hungary, the Serbs[1] are the most vigorous. With few exceptions, they belong to the Oriental church, and are subordinated to their Metropolitan of Karlovitz. One part of them descends from the primitive inhabitants of Hungary; but the last settlement of the great bulk of them dates from a considerably later period. It was when Prince Eugene of Savoy had driven the Turks from Hungary, that the Emperor Leopold I., in the second half of the seventeenth century, engaged all Christians residing in

[1] The Serbs are likewise called Racz; in the history of the middle ages their names often vary. They are called Serbli, Servi, Rasciani, Illyri. Those of them who became Catholics bear the name of Sokacz or Bunyevácz.

the Turkish provinces at the frontier, to settle on the uncultivated but fertile ground of Lower Hungary. In consequence of this, the Patriarch Arsenius Csernovics came with forty thousand Serbian families over the frontier, and settled at the fan-like confluence of the four rivers—the Danube, the Tisza (Theiss), the Drave, and the Save. Considerable privileges were granted to these new settlers; the free exercise of their religion, the election of the Metropolitan, and of their civil chief, the Woiwod. In exchange for this, they had the obligation to protect the frontier against the Turks. During the civil wars of the seventeenth and eighteenth century, they were often used by Austria against the Hungarians, and by this, a hatred was inflamed between the two races, which a whole century of peace could not completely extinguish.

By little and little, however, the privileges of these Serbs were modified by Austria. One part of them became a separate incorporation, entitled the "Military Frontier;" and when Lower Hungary grew more peopled by Germans, Wallachs, and Hungarians, the dignity of the Woiwod declined. Those who had not been incorporated into the military frontier were organized into counties, with privileges equal to that of the rest of the country; and the wealthier proprietors amongst them intermixed and identified themselves with the Hungarian nobility. But in religious matters, the Serbs had many well-founded complaints. Since 1790, they were no longer permitted to hold a Synod and to control their own concerns, in regard to the churches and the schools. The strictly Roman Catholic turn of the Austrian rulers occasioned many encroachments of the Romish clergy upon the Oriental church. But the most oppressive measure for the Serbs certainly was the organization of the military frontier.

By this name is designated the narrow tract of land, extending from the Adriatic along the Save and the Danube, straight to Mehadia, and the borders of Wallachia. In the north of Transylvania, and the land of the Székelys (Szeklers) the institutions of the military frontier were likewise established with some essential modifications. In Croatia, the territory of the military frontier mainly consists of the properties once belonging to the families Torquati, Frangepani, and Zrinyi. These estates had partly by escheatage, partly by confiscation, come into the possession of the crown. In the Banat, the military frontier is constituted on tracts, which only after the battle of Zenta were left by the Turks, and then (after indemnification had been guaranteed to all these private families, who could prove their titles of property) were disposed of by the Government.

All those tracts are divided into "regiments," and are kept entirely under military rule. According to this, no individual property exists there; the schemes of Louis Blanc and Proudhon are put in

action. From four to eight families together form one "Session," and cultivate its grounds in common, under the control of an Austrian officer, who, according to his judgment, appoints one of the members of the "Session" to be "Patriarch," or family chief. This person has the duty of providing with shelter, food, and clothing, all the individuals belonging to the Session. He is answerable for the good cultivation of the fields, for the punctual payment of the taxes, and for always maintaining at least two members of the Session as soldiers. Every male inhabitant of the military frontier is destined from his very birth to become a soldier. In every regiment, at least two battalions are constantly under arms; one of these attends to the service of the frontier against the Turks, whilst the other is being drilled. Neither of them get pay as long as they are kept in their fatherland, at the expense of their respective Sessions. Besides these two sets of battalions, the men of a third set must ever be ready to take arms. When Austria, in case of war, calls the first set of battalions from their home, the second set steps into the place of the first, to attend the service of the "cordon" against the Turks. The third then in the course of a week is under arms, and a fourth is formed. If the second and third set of battalions likewise must march, then the fourth, fifth, sixth, and, in case of need, even the seventh and eighth are constituted. Three always remain in the country, the others proceed to war.

The soldiers of the military frontier get the same pay as all other Austrian soldiers, but only when they are out of their country; moreover, the booty they get in war is their own, of which they may freely dispose, even when they return to their Sessions. Except in this regard, no one has any property; not even the Patriarch is to be excepted, for he is only the manager for all the members of the Session, and can at any moment be dismissed by the ruling officer.

As over the whole military frontier no civil law or civil court exists, but martial law and martial courts reign alone, of course no industry can expand itself; nor does any one feel the oppressive consequences of these institutions more than the inhabitants of the towns of those districts—Zeng, Carlopago, Petrinia, Brod, Péter-várad, Karlovicz, Bellovár, Zemlin, Pancsova, Weisskirchen. A part of these citizens are German colonists, but all are subordinated to the military service and rule. They have a common council, but presided over by an officer.

The inhabitants of the military frontier are bound to remain on their soil. They are not allowed to emigrate to any other part of the monarchy; and those only who are unfit for military service, or who are specially favoured by the Imperial Council of War may become artizans, artists, merchants, &c. Even to attend the higher schools, they all require express permission.

How prejudicially such a system must act on the culture of those districts—how oppressive it must prove to the inhabitants—how much it necessarily demoralizes in war the character of the soldiers, as a kind of premium is set on plunder and robbery,—all this is obvious. To this must be added the despotic turn of mind habitual to the Austrian officers, who here, without exception, have the complete administration of civil concerns likewise; for no civil authorities, no free municipal institutions are granted. It, therefore, has long since been confessed that the inhabitants of the military frontier are the most oppressed and the most unhappy within the Austrian realm. But as the institutions of this tract of land convert it into a cheap and almost inexhaustible seminary of soldiers, the complaints of its inhabitants were never attended to.

They likewise were not under the administration of Hungary and Croatia, to which countries they lawfully and geographically belonged; nor even under the control of the Viennese ministry, but in every point, even as to their civil and mercantile concerns, they fall under the immediate command of the Viennese Imperial Council of War (Hofkriegsrath).

When, in consequence of the laws sanctioned in April, 1848, the administration of the military frontier was transferred from the Austrian Council of War to the Hungarian Ministry, it was expressly stipulated, that the organization of the military frontier should never be altered without the consent of the Viennese Ministry of War. When, therefore, during the first excitement, in spring, the inhabitants of Weisskirchen and Pancsova deposed their military mayor, and sent deputations to the Hungarian ministry with the request of civil administration and municipal institutions, the Hungarian government lay under a disability to fulfil these wishes.

The Council of War in Vienna, which, in that time had exchanged its name for Ministry of War, judged, that after the fall of the old system, no law at all any longer existed in the monarchy; that no promise was to be sacredly kept, and that in consequence every authority was to assume as much sway as possible. Jellachich did this; and, in fact, laid hand upon the administration of the Croatian frontier. As to the military borders of Sclavonia and of the Banat, which were peopled in greatest part by Serbs, less by Wallachs, Germans, and Hungarians—secret instructions to the officers were issued by the Viennese ministry to protest against, and, if occasion served, to thwart the Hungarian ministry. The Wallach and German borderers did not heed such orders: they kept to the law publicly sanctioned by the monarch, not to secret instructions. The Serbs, on the contrary, the Csaikist battalion and the Peterwardein regiment, soon found occasion to accomplish the desires of the Viennese ministry of war.

To satisfy the wishes ever reiterated for half a century, relative to the concerns of their churches and schools, Baron Eötvös, Hungarian Minister of Public Instruction, as early as in April, gave permission to the followers of the Greek Church to hold a synod. But Rajacsics, the Metropolitan of Karlovitz, feared such a convocation, because by him and his predecessors many ecclesiastical foundations had been withdrawn from their primitive destination, and he apprehended diminution of his income and his influence.

The excitement favoured from Vienna in the military districts, began likewise to spread to the Serbs in the Banat. Agrarian violences at Kilkinda had to be punished and suppressed with military force, and by this the dissatisfaction was heightened. Rajacsics, therefore, thought this occasion favourable enough to give to the agitation a thoroughly political turn, thus to forward the views of the Camarilla, and to get offices, dignities, and privileges for himself and his adherents. Under pretence of a conference preparatory to the Synod, he assembled on the 12th of May a number of Serbian priests, several landed proprietors, and many inhabitants of the military frontiers at Ujvidék (Neusatz). On the 15th, they proceeded to Karlovitz. Numerous guests from the Turkish principality of Serbia likewise attended. The discussions were opened with the enumeration of all the grievances, which had accumulated for centuries. Rajacsics fanatically excited the mass of the people. He unfolded at the altar in the cathedral the original documents, containing the grant of privileges made by the Emperor Leopold to the Serbs, and solemnly declared that the time had come when they could conquer their national independence.

The people applauded him with joyful acclamations, proclaimed him Patriarch of the Serbs, and elected Colonel Stephen Suplikatz, a native borderer, who was then serving in Italy, to be their Woiwod. Further, it was resolved, that all land where the Serbs resided, and somewhat more, should be taken from Croatia and Hungary, and constituted into the new Serbian Woiwodina, directly depending on the Emperor. To effect this, a central committee was formed, under the presidency of Rajacsics, who took upon himself the administration of the new State that was to be founded.

Jellachich and the Croats were to be apprized of all this, and Rajacsics was empowered to promise the support and aid of the frontier regiments to Jellachich, if he recognised the Woiwodina. The Patriarch was to go with a deputation to the Emperor to obtain the ratification of these resolutions.

Hardly had the tidings of this event become public, when, every where in the Peterwardein regiment and Csaikisten battalion, committees were formed, which established communications with the central committee. The inhabitants of those districts seized the

arms and took into possession the arsenals and the ammunition, which were delivered up to them by the officers without resistance. They occupied the Roman intrenchments, ancient Roman walls, not far from the confluence of the Tisza and the Danube, and fortified themselves there.

In this stage of affairs, Jellachich did not show great inclination to identify his cause with the Serbian plot. Though he remained in friendly intercourse with Rajacsics, and distinguished him at the Croatian Diet, which he himself called together on the 5th of July, he was yet unwilling to send officers to the Serbs. Both Rajacsics and Jellachich went together to the court at Innspruck; where Jellachich—although the Emperor had, on the 10th of June, on account of his disobedience, declared him a high traitor—was received most graciously;[1] Rajacsics, on the contrary, very coldly. In fact, the Emperor told the latter distinctly, that he ought to comply with the law, and submit to the Hungarian ministry.

By this time the Serbs in Karlovitz had grown bolder, and openly called upon their brethren throughout the whole military frontier to join them. General Hrabovszky, the commander of Petervárad (Peterwardein,) was at last compelled forcibly to oppose the daily increasing rebellion. He summoned Karlovitz to submit to him. When the Committee refused obedience, he, in consequence, at Whitsuntide, ordered some battalions to march against the town. The Serbs met them with musket shots, but were soon dispersed with the loss of several men. Some rockets set the thatched roofs of the suburbs on fire; after this Hrabovszky thought the rebels sufficiently punished, and returned to the fortress.

The Serbs availed themselves of this first defeat to fanaticise their people. They spread the report everywhere, that Hrabovszky had set their cathedral on fire, that he had destroyed the palace of the Metropolitan, bombarded the town, and murdered the inhabitants in cold blood. The borderers, excited by these tales, were no longer satisfied with the partial insurrection in the military districts, but sought, arms in hand, to propagate it. The Hungarian ministry were anxious to crush this insurrection speedily, and therefore appointed Peter Csernovics, great-grandson of the Patriarch Arsenius, who had led the Serbs into Hungary, as Commissary with military power, and with the charge to re-establish order by gentle, or if necessary, by forcible measures. Csernovics called upon his

[1] Relative to this reception of Jellachich at Court, a characteristic anecdote was told. Jellachich was summoned in an official audience to justify his actions; but directly afterwards was invited by the Archduchess Sophia in these words: "My dear Ban, I expect you this evening to tea." Jellachich replied: "Imperial Highness, I am now no longer anything but high-traitor!" To this the Archduchess replied: "Then, my dear high-traitor, I expect you to tea."

countrymen to submit to the law, and to bring their complaints before the ministry. They refused obedience, but requested an armistice till the return of their Patriarch Rajacsics from Innspruck. Csernovics granted this, and withdrew the troops; but the Serbs, regardless of the armistice, on the 4th of July, crossed the Francis canal from the Roman intrenchments, occupied Szent-Tamás, a large village of mixed population, murdered and drove away the Hungarian inhabitants, and fortified this place on the sides which were not secured by marshes and by the canal. They likewise attacked the Hungarians on the other side of the Tisza; and first, those Hungarian boroughs which lay within the military districts, and were naturally averse to join the rebellion. Thus Debelliács was burnt, Uzdin too; the inhabitants plundered and driven from their hearths. Then came the turn of the German town Fehértemplom (Weisskirchen). Its citizens, however, bravely defended themselves, and defeated the Serbian hordes, which then took to inroads into the counties of Temes and Torontál. But on the open field they were beaten everywhere by the troops stationed in those parts, at Versecz, Ecska, and Paulis. Most of these troops were not Hungarians, but Galicians, Bohemians, and Germans. The Hungarian regiments were not within the kingdom, but were dispersed over the monarchy; several of them were serving in Italy. Hungary itself was almost without any troops. Not more than 18,000 soldiers were in the country; of which the majority were foreigners, and the small number of Hungarians had, with few exceptions, foreign officers. When the Serbs noticed that the officers who commanded in the ranks opposed to them, never pursued their victory further than to the boundary of the military districts, they adopted another system. They established fortified camps within the military frontier, intrenched these, and made from hence expeditions to the adjoining counties, marking their presence by plunder, burnings, and cruelties of the most barbarous kind. Owing to this they were in turn treated by the Hungarians as robbers, and two of their leaders, Stanimirovics and Koics, who, at Versecz, fell into the hands of the Hungarian troops, were immediately hanged by court-martial.

The most considerable of the Serbian intrenchments were: Vracsegaj, Alibunár, Perlasz, Földvar, and especially Szent-Tamás, to which they had given the name of Serbobran (Servian shield). From hence they made incessant sallies, burned Hungarian villages in the neighbourhood, for instance the thriving borough of Temerin, and filled with terror the whole county of Bács and the Banat.

The Hungarian ministry now sent General Bechtold, a clever officer, against the Serbs. He was on his mother's side related to Count Batthyányi, who, on this account, placed full confidence in

him. Yet under his command the war was not at all more zealously conducted; it daily grew more obvious, that the Austrian officers did not intend any serious contest with the rebels.

Thrice it was in vain attempted to take Szent-Tamás by storm. The cannon-balls of the Hungarian army never hit; the sallies of the Serbs were not sharply repelled; and no doubt could be entertained that Bechtold (who is still in the Austrian service) and the other officers were obeying secret instructions from the Viennese ministry of war to spare the Serbs.

The Serbs themselves fought under an Austrian standard. Austrian officers headed them, and it was publicly known that Lieutenant-Colonel Mayerhoffer, Austrian Consul at Belgrád, was supplying them with arms and ammunition. Danilovich, the Russian Consul, had as early as the end of May offered Russian aid to the Metropolitan Rajacsics, if he would claim it from the Emperor of Russia, as the Protector of the Eastern Church. Rajacsics declined this, and communicated it to Mayerhoffer, who then yet more actively supported the rebellion.

The Hungarian government hereupon requested the Austrian ministry to fulfil the promise given by the King, that all Hungarian regiments—except those who stood in Italy before the enemy—should return to their country, instead of the foreign troops still stationed there, and that simultaneously facilities should be granted to the Hungarian officers, serving in foreign regiments, to exchange their places, and to be transferred to Hungarian regiments. But the Austrian Minister of War only did what was of contrary tendency: in a session of the Viennese parliament in the month of August, he openly called the war against the Serbs an *unnatural* one, in which the officers could but unwillingly take part. When these expressions reached the German officers in the Hungarian army at the counties of Bacs, Temes, Torontál, and Krassó, they grew still more inactive.

To swell the scanty numbers of their troops, the Hungarian ministry put in motion the national guards of several counties. This, however, proved an unlucky measure. The people disliked to leave home, the expenses were considerable, the result null, as the national guards, at that period, did not stand the fire.

The ministry, therefore, yet in June, formed ten battalions, every one of a thousand volunteers. These entered into an engagement to serve their fatherland, in all its parts, but not beyond its boundaries; as they did not choose to expose themselves to be marched *against* the Italians, for whom the Hungarians had much sympathy. The volunteers, therefore, adopted the name of Honvéd, *home defender.* These young troops very soon got used to the fire, and became the nucleus of the later so glorious Hungarian army. The third and the ninth battalions especially, so early as in the contest with the

Serbs, gained more than one laurel; namely, in the defence of the town of Weisskirchen, when it was attacked the second time by very superior numbers.

In the beginning of September, the Serbs again met several defeats. On the second, the brigade of the Hungarian Colonel Kiss was attacked in the vicinity of Becskerek by the Serbs; but they were beaten, and pursued to their stronghold of Perlasz, which was taken by storm. But as the Hungarian brigade was not sufficiently supported, it could not advance as far as Pancsova. Colonel Kiss, therefore, only destroyed the fortifications of Perlasz, and retired to his former position. In the same manner, Vracsegaj was destroyed on the 5th, by a sally from Weisskirchen. But all this did not quench the excitement of the Serbs. When they saw that Jellachich was advancing against Hungary, their rapacious passions were inflamed anew. They intrenched themselves at Tomasovátz, and on the 15th broke into the castles of Colonel Kiss at Aradacz and Elemér.

This brave officer (who, one year after this event, was executed by Haynau at Arad) attacked them, directing the cannons against his own castle of Elemér, to expel the robber-enemy.

Barbarous as the cruelties were, which the Serbs everywhere committed (for they slaughtered defenceless women, feeble old men, children, and babes), it is no less certain, that during this war they proved brave and enduring. They never accepted pardon. The wildest and boldest amongst them were obviously those Serbs, Arnouts, and Montenegrins, who had come from the Turkish territory, on the opposite side of the Danube, to aid their brethren. They were about 6,000 well-armed men, freebooters, led by Knicsanin, who could neither read nor write, but well understood how to handle his sword. Some Polish officers directed the works of the intrenchments,[1] and Mayerhoffer, the Austrian Consul at Belgrád, was the soul of the whole rebellion.

But the Serbian war took another turn, when news arrived of the defeat of Jellachich, of the surrender of the Generals Roth and Philippovich, and of the Viennese revolution. The Serbs rested on their arms, and made no more sallies. But neither could the Hungarians advance offensively; for the troops, which were not Hungarians, now openly refused obedience, and threw themselves into the fortresses of Arad and Temesvár, the commanders of which declared themselves against the Hungarians, and closed the gates. The citizens of Arad remained faithful to Hungary; in consequence of which, their town was repeatedly bombarded from the fortress.

[1] Yet many have been strangely scandalized that the Hungarian army had three Polish generals!

In the mean time, Suplikatz, who, having been in May elected Woiwod by the assembly at Karlovitz, was subsequently promoted from colonel to general, and ratified as Woiwod by the Emperor, had returned from Italy. He was a man of humane feelings, who threatened sternly to punish every cruelty of his people, who suspended all hostile proceedings, and even seemed ready for a good understanding.

Whilst the Serbian insurrection had thus taken a turn, which gave room to hope for a favourable conclusion, tidings of the most afflicting kind came from Transylvania. But, to depict these faithfully, I must return to the events of March, and relate in some connexion the Transylvanian affairs.

The crisis of March in Vienna and Hungary had naturally made a great impression in Transylvania likewise. This country, which, since the great defeat sustained from the Ottomans at Mohacs, A.D. 1526, had been separated from Hungary, and whose re-union had repeatedly been promised by Charles III., Marie-Therese, Leopold, and Francis, had, in its development, not kept pace with the rest of the kingdom. All patriotic statesmen of Transylvania had long been aware, that only by the annexation of their fatherland to Hungary could more vigorous improvement be achieved. *Union*, therefore, became the motto of the party of progress, whilst the reactionaries in Vienna and Transylvania availed themselves of every means to prevent the annexation. To this end, the Saxons in Transylvania were especially made use of. The threads of all these intrigues were gathered into one in the hands of the Councillor Baron Rosenfeld in Vienna, and in those of the Saxon Count, Salmen, in Herrmannstadt. As tools for these schemes, the Wallachs were designed.

By a great defect in the ancient Transylvanian Constitution, the great mass of Wallachian inhabitants of that country had no political position whatever. They were peasants, not like those of Hungary, whose duties and rights were fixed by the law, but mere serfs.

Whilst three nationalities, the Hungarian, the Székely (*Szekler*), and the Saxon, were acknowledged, and endowed with equal rights, by the laws of Transylvania, and were the only freeholders of the soil, the Wallach was, nearly without exception, shackled by a serfdom, which already for seventy years had vanished in its neighbouring mother-country, Hungary. Bound to the soil on which he was born, it was only with his master's permission that the Wallach might employ his faculties in one or another mode, to learn a profession, or to devote himself to any branch of knowledge. Owing to this, men of learning can only be met with quite exceptionally among this nation in Transylvania. Their nobility, of course, assimilated itself to the Hungarian aristocracy. Nowhere, however, are the hardships of this oppressive state more striking, than in the land of

the Saxons, where, in fact, for several years, a controversy was carried on in German papers between the Saxons and the Wallachian clergy, who complained of oppression. There are, indeed, in those parts, places to be found, in which, with a Saxon community of three or four families, a Protestant clergyman gets a yearly income from six to eight hundred pounds sterling from the Wallachian inhabitants of the village, who are of the Eastern Church. This is an immense sum for Transylvania, where many royal officers, with large families, live contentedly with an income of from thirty to forty pounds. Eighty pounds is the pay of officers of a higher rank. The Wallach is bound to pay to the Saxon clergyman, not only tithes, but likewise fees for baptisms, weddings, and burials, while the Greek priest, who must be kept by the same Wallachian alone, has to perform all religious functions. The Saxons, likewise, give to the Wallachs but a scanty share in the public offices.

The Hungarian and Székely inhabitants of Transylvania, with unexampled enthusiasm and generosity, were willing to renounce their historical privileges, and ready to make large pecuniary sacrifices for the furtherance of the progress and prosperity of their fatherland. The Saxons, on the contrary, entered into the plans of the Camarilla, and became the tools of the reaction.

Some days before the meeting of the Transylvanian Diet, which was convoked for the end of May, the newspapers of Kolosvár (Klausenburg) published the secret instructions which the civil officers had received from the Saxon Committee, formed by partisans of the Austrian ministry, in May 1848. In these it was urged that all means must be employed to favour the antagonists of the Union at the elections for the Diet. The attention of the landed proprietors should be directed to the loss, which they necessarily would undergo, from the abolition of soccage. On the other hand, this very abolition, might be promised to the peasant in case the Union were successfully resisted. Then it should be made obvious to the landholders, that by aid of a few German regiments there would be no difficulty in restoring the ancient order, and the Union would be conducive to nothing but to a transient agitation. To every man of influence with the people, money, or in cases of greater avail, a high office should be promised; this last pledge, however, should be used with circumspection. Finally, it was suggested, that even if the Union were carried in the Diet, yet means might be found to frustrate it; namely, the Saxons might refuse to add their seal to those of the Szeklers and the Hungarians, and would thus render the act of the Diet ineffectual. The documents might be detained on their way to Vienna; the sanction of the law might be put off; time thus would be gained, and to gain time was to gain everything at this crisis.

No one, however, more eagerly obeyed the instigations of the Camarilla than the Wallachs.

For a long time back, many of them, especially the clergy, had the more bitterly felt their political oppression, as with the numerical superiority of the Wallachs in the country, the injustice of their position was obvious. Their most urgent and formerly, no doubt, just desire, was to be represented in the Transylvanian Diet, as the fourth nationality, just as the other three nationalities. But the Union with Hungary abrogated all the national distinctions; and, at future elections, the nationality could not come forward, since the franchise was given only with regard to a property qualification. Laying great stress upon this, the Wallachs were incited to claim, in preference to anything else, to be acknowledged as the fourth nation, and thus secure their majority in the Diet; by which at the same time, a new direction would be given to the agitation. In consequence, on the 15th of May, the very day on which Rajacsics got himself elected at Karlovitz to the dignity of Patriarch, the Wallach Bishop, Saguna, also assembled the Wallachs of Transylvania. About 30,000 peasants met at Balásfalva, and resolved to send a deputation to the Emperor, requesting to be acknowledged as the fourth nationality. They the more readily formed this resolution since the Bill of Union was interpreted to them as enforcing their coalition with the United Greek Church, (to which the Ruthenians and a part of the Wallachs belong,) and thus estranging them from the old Eastern church. By such means it proved not difficult to stir them into fanaticism.

Yet these intrigues did not succeed. To the great astonishment of the Camarilla, the union of Transylvania with Hungary was, at the end of May, 1848, solemnly and unanimously declared by the Transylvanian Diet, at Kolosvár (Klausenburg), with the strictest observance of all formalities, and with general enthusiasm. The Commissary appointed by the Emperor, Lieutenant Field-Marshal Puchner, had opened the Diet with a speech in Hungarian, and in the Emperor's name expressed the wish, that the Union should be voted. He was joyfully listened to by the Assembly, although the inconsistency of another point in the same speech, when he called on them to propose a new chancellor for the Grand Duchy[1] awakened distrust in several persons.

In the streets of Kolosvár, amongst the highly elated people might be seen the Saxon Delegate of Hermannstadt with a large Hungarian tri-colour, to express, as representative of the chief Saxon town, its sincere satisfaction at the result. The royal sanction of this resolution of the Diet followed on the 1st of July, notwithstand-

[1] See Note at the end of chapter.

ing the secret manœuvres of those employed by the Camarilla. In fact, the original document containing the resolution of the Diet, that the Union should be accomplished, when sent direct to Innspruck, was intercepted, and only a duplicate reached the monarch; who, nevertheless, signed it, and issued the command that all officers of Transylvania should swear to the new constitution, thus binding every one of them to uphold it.

After the sanction of this law, the Camarilla necessarily had to seek other means for severing Transylvania from Hungary. Again the Wallachs were incited. Emissaries told this people that the intention was to bereave it of its nationality; nay, to expel it from its own soil, The tale was spread that the Emperor Ferdinand had been dethroned by the Hungarians, and the circumstance that all orders now were issued in the name of the *King*, not of the *Emperor*, as had previously been the case,[1] gave occasion to address the following falsehood to the peasant: "See! the kind Emperor, who has liberated thee from *soccage*, is no longer thy lord: thou art now the slave of the King of Hungary."

Isolated acts of violence ensued. At Marczafalva, the peasants mowed down the green corn of the proprietor, because it had been sown in the period of *soccage*. At Topánfalva, the incited peasants claimed the half of the forests; and, as they only got the right of taking for use the produce of certain parts, totally destroyed the young woods in the neighbourhood. In both cases, after previous warnings, military force was employed against the trangressors. In the first case an attack nearly ensued. Intimidated by this example, the peasants yielded in the second instance, although the instigators under different pretexts, called together the people of more than thirty villages. But this plan of incitement failed, owing to the good sense of the people themselves, who disapproved the conduct of the peasants of Topánfalva.

The emissaries of the Camarilla now tried to persuade the people that the military force had been applied in opposition to the desire of the Emperor; that these soldiers were not in the monarch's service, but were foreign mercenaries. The most insignificant circumstance, however trifling it might be, was dressed up and received by the people as striking evidence. The infantry-officers, for instance, had begun to wear mustachios—a liberty granted them since March, but prohibited before. To preposses the people against the "Honvéds," who were military coats of a red-brown colour, it was asserted that a horde of wild barbarians, with red attires and long beards, had broken into Hungary, and were already marching against Transylvania, to drive the Wallachs from their land, and to take it them-

[1] See Note at the end of the chapter.

selves into possession. A man named Ianku had been clerk in a public office; but not agreeing with his superiors, he had left the service, and now lived with his father, a rich Wallach peasant, near Topánfalva. This man incited the people against the order of his former superiors. Of pleasing exterior and uncommon eloquence, he got great influence amongst the Wallachs.

Another chief of this people was Móga, who had held a subordinate office, and had been expelled from it on account of a fraud; afterwards he became a footman, and next a clerk, first with a notary of Offenbánya, then with the deacon Igyán. To this person the appointment of a director in one of the mountain districts was pledged, in case the plan of the Camarilla succeeded. These were the agents mainly employed by the Austrian statesmen in the mountain districts of Transylvania, inhabited by the Wallachs of the mountains called the Mócz.

Laureanu, professor in Bukarest, and the Bishop Saguna were more refined than the above-mentioned persons, and for this very reason had less influence on the wild people. Of a far inferior stamp, cruel and wretched, was Boloschiesko, directed by Barnutiu, the soul of the Wallach committee. This latter was without any feeling of nationality, entirely the tool of the Austrians.

But all these intrigues were woven secretly. The Camarilla did not yet venture openly to counteract the sanctioned resolutions of the Diet. In all departments the desires expressed by the voice of the public were attended to, and most of them fulfilled. The enthusiasm for the cause of freedom was thus maintained, and the confidence in the Court strengthened.

Some of the main instigators of the people, Móga, and several others, were now legally apprehended, and convicted of their crimes. But regardless of the published sentence of the court-martial, the Hungarian commissaries pardoned and released them, after they had pledged themselves not to undertake anything more against the Hungarian government. Encouraged, however, by the Saxons, they soon resumed their occupation.

At last came the period deemed appropriate for unconcealed action. Its signal was, the attack of Jellachich against Hungary. General Puchner, on the 16th of September, issued a proclamation, in which he desired all the civil officers of Transylvania to renounce the oath, which they had taken to the Hungarian constitution, and support him in his opposition to it. At the same time a Wallachian levy was organized, armed, and provided with Austrian officers, to use force against all those who by the 18th of October should not have declared themselves willing to join in the design. The proclamation to this purpose was sent to the superior authori-

ties of Hermannstadt and Kolosvár, to be communicated to the subordinate magistrates in the county.

The Hungarian ministry, to avoid dissatisfaction and an increase of half-pay, had everywhere as much as possible kept to the principle of retaining in their places the officers of the previous government. It therefore is easily explained why the highest officers in Transylvania were either willing tools of the Camarilla, or at least wished alawys to keep on good terms with the stronger party. But as it was yet undecided which of all the parties would prove stronger, they put off the publication of the manifesto, and solemnly protested against the illegal proceeding of General Puchner. On this occasion the course common in Austria was carefully pursued, to require at least a week to execute a trifling concern. With such forerunners came the 18th of October. No one was aware of the approaching catastrophe, except those who were initiated into the plot.

The sad consequences of this plot manifested themselves everywhere; but nowhere more dreadfully than in the remote mountain district of Zalatnya.

The civil officers of those parts were suddenly surrounded by wildly fanatical Wallachs, arms in hand. In this state of things above 1200 faithful servants of their Sovereign assembled. They were of all ranks, from the highest to the lowest, old and young, accompanied by their wives and children. All joined in the purpose to proceed together to the town of Enyed—at several hours' distance from Zalatnya—to be there sheltered from the wild hordes, which were ready to attack every one who chanced not to be a Wallach, and who wore another than a peasant's coat. It was yet at some distance from Zalatnya when the officers were overtaken by a great troop of armed Wallachs. Not willing to oppose those who pretended to be acting in the name of the Monarch, a negotiation was entered upon. Its result was, that the emigrants agreed to deliver up their swords and muskets, under condition that they should not be prevented from freely proceeding to Enyed. Before the disarming was completed the evening had come on.

The district physician of Zalatnya, who, favoured, by lucky chances, escaped almost alone unhurt from the subsequent slaughter, was the first to deliver up his sword. Several carriages were laden with the arms, and they waited for dawn to continue their journey. In the night, the Wallachs sent a messenger to the commander, who was an Austrian officer at Zalatnya, to inquire what they should do "with their prisoners." The messenger returned with the laconic reply, "Put the wretches to death."

The morning of the subsequent day found the unfortunate families encircled by the Wallachs. An anxious expectation reigned. When the peremptory order of murder arrived, the riotous people themselves

were thunderstruck, and for a long while no one attempted to break the pledge of a free passage. Both parties hesitated for some instants to take any decided step; at last the disarmed set themselves in motion. Slowly the procession advanced until some circumstance, which never has been precisely ascertained, was considered by the Wallachs a signal to attack.

Now followed a horrifying scene. One part of the disarmed were cudgelled to death, others pierced through with pointed mountain-sticks. Some hanged on trees were mangled with hay-forks; others, thrown into pits, were buried under blocks rolled down upon them. Women and maidens were mutilated and murdered in the most dreadful manner. I shudder to relate it!

The slaughter lasted long. Rainbold, a German, the Inspector of Zalatyna, to whom clung his wife, and two grown-up daughters. not seeing any possibility to avert their dreadful fate, drew out his double pistol, which, more distrustful than his companions, he had retained, shot down first his two daughters, loaded again, shot his wife, and lastly himself. The haste, and the excitement, in which he achieved this awful deed, rendered his hand uncertain, his mutilated wife survived this horrible catastrophe, and related it. Of 1,200 persons about 110 remained wounded amongst the bodies of their comrades. Of these survivors about 70 or 80, most of them women, one, the wife of the judge, Császár, bleeding from countless wounds, dragged themselves before the gates of the fortress of Gyula Fehérvár (*Karlsburg*). But the commander of this place, which was occupied by Austrian troops, drove the exhausted victims with blows from the gates, where, after having been refused entrance, they had sunk powerless to the ground.

Similar horrors were committed in more than one part of Transylvania. Enyed was burnt, and ravaged. In the county of Zaránd, many proprietors were murdered. The family of Brády was utterly extirpated. Baroness Mikes was barbarously killed, with her infants. The cruelties, perpetrated by the Wallachs, were so unprecedented, that even Puchner was in despair at the massacres he had occasioned; but the agitation could no longer be ruled.[1]

The Austrian Lieutenant Colonel Urban, who called himself the

[1] These horrors never were punished by the Austrians; and when, some months later, Puchner was driven from Transylvania by General Bem, and Csányi, as Hungarian Commissary, sentenced several of the instigators and perpetrators of the above-mentioned bloodshed, to be hanged, the correspondents of the Austrian party filled the papers of foreign countries with declamations on *Hungarian terrorism*, and Charles Heinzen, the theoretical Marat of the German revolutionists in London, has taken these declamations for fair truth, and honours the Hungarians as terrorists; an honour which they, in justice to truth, must decline. But, on the other side, Csányi, and others, who had sentenced those Wallach malefactors to death, were themselves executed by the Austrians.

Wallachian Jellachich, had, for some time, assembled the Wallachian borderers. He got reinforcements from the Bukovina, and marched against Kolosvár, which still adhered to the Hungarian ministry.

General Baldacci, commanding the Hungarian army in those parts, had no confidence either in his troops, or in the cause for which he fought. After an engagement of outposts, in which the Hungarians were victorious, he most incomprehensibly gave up Kolosvár and Transylvania, in the beginning of November. A Hungarian corps of volunteers, which had victoriously advanced from Szathmar to Dées, was here beaten by Urban, and retired in wild disorder to Nagy Bánya; nay, it even left this place to retreat as far as Szathmár, though no enemy came near it. Transylvania was thus abandoned. The faithful Székelys were, in their own country, wholly cut off from Hungary.

NOTE TO CHAPTER IX.

From early times to the battle of Mohács, Transylvania and Hungary had one and the same law. It was only when severed from the kingdom that the Grand Duchy, under its own freely elected Grand Duke, adopted, in several respects, other principles and statutes than Hungary. Leopold I., who already was King of Hungary, was also accepted Grand Duke by Transylvania; thus both countries once more acknowledged the same sovereign, which they henceforth continued to do under the Princes of the House of Hapsburg. Transylvania, however, retained its special institutions, which Leopold I. expressly ratified.

The main features of the Transylvanian constitution were the following: Transylvania consisted of three allied nations; of the Hungarians, the Székelys, and the Saxons, of which every one had its own territory and its own constitution. In the territory of the Hungarians the great bulk of the population are Wallachs, but all landed proprietors are Hungarians. Their municipal institutions were much the same as in Hungary. They likewise had counties, quarterly county congregations, and elections every third year.

The Székelys are all of Hungarian origin, and are, without exception, free. In their territory there were no serfs and no feudal lords; but its inhabitants are all small landed proprietors. A part of them called Primores is free from all military service, but the Primipili and Pixidarii are all subject to that duty, and are considered in this respect as belonging to the military frontier. Likewise among the Székelys (Szekler) the municipal institutions resemble those of the Hungarians.

The territory of the Saxons should, according to the charters, be inhabited by free men only; but the Saxons who settled there in the twelfth century monopolized all the privileges for themselves, and oppressed the Wallachs, who lived in the midst of them. The municipal institutions of the Saxons widely differ from those of the Hungarians. They are wholly German, but excellent of their kind. A national Count heads them. Their towns are self-administered, and at certain periods assemble, represented by their delegates, under the presidency of

the Count, to settle their affairs. But on their territory they granted no vote, and no place in their offices, to the Wallachs, except occasionally a clerkship, or some other subordinate position. The Wallachs here were quite as much serfs as in the Hungarian territory of Transylvania, with the sole difference, that with the Saxons they were not subjected to a landlord, but to the Saxon city-councils, whose magistrate encroached on them still more than a landlord.

According to the law those three nations were every third year to assemble in Diet by their delegates. The Diet, however, had but one, not two houses. In it, besides the delegates of the three nations, sat also the Regalists in unlimited number. Regalists, a sort of peers for life, were all those whom the Emperor (who in Transylvania was Grand Duke) summoned by special letters—"Litteræ Regales." Besides legislation, the main task of the Diet was to elect the members belonging to the central government of the free nation,—the governor, who resided at Kolosvár (Klausenburg),—the chancellor, who resided at Vienna,—the administrative officers,—and the judges. The Diet had to propose, the Grand Duke to appoint. But as for every office three individuals of each of the three Transylvanian nations were always proposed by the Diet, under the idea that every one of the acknowledged religions of Transylvania—(Roman Catholics, Protestants of the Augsburg and Helvetic confession, and Unitarian)—should have their representatives also; the freedom of election was in reality very limited. It was hardly possible, that amongst the nine proposed individuals, the candidate of the court should not find his place.

Transylvania, as a united country, had no official seal of her own, but every one of the nations had its own seal, and the documents of the Diet could only be legalized by the seals of all the three nations. The delegates of the Saxons kept more steadily together than those of the Hungarians and Székelys. The latter were almost always divided into conservatives and liberals, whilst the Saxons voted in unison, and often threatened, in despite of a majority in the Diet, not to add their seal to legislative propositions against which they had voted. They, however, never ventured to realize the threat. Just as Croatia, by the policy of Metternich, was incited against Hungary, so the Saxons were always instigated against the Hungarians in Transylvania.

The Wallachs in Transylvania had not the rights of a nation, and the Oriental Greek, and even the United Greek Church, were not lawfully recognised, but only tolerated. Had the Wallachs been raised to a nation, the freedom of election would have proved still more limited, as then necessarily twelve candidates would have been proposed for every office. To abolish those national distinctions and establish a general qualification, was favourable to progress, but by no means an increase of the distinct representation of nationalities.

But the Wallachs protested in Balásfalva against every qualification, as the mallest restriction of this nature would have excluded the great bulk of them from the elections, on account of their poverty.

CHAPTER X.

ADVANCE OF WINDISCHGRATZ.

KOSSUTH returned to Pest in the middle of November. At this time the position of Hungary was not enviable. Field-Marshal Prince Windischgratz[1] encamped around Vienna with 75,000 men, and threatened at once Pressburg and Oedenburg. Everybody was aware, that as soon as the Field-Marshal had satisfied his vengeance by the executions in Vienna, his cannon would be pointed against

[1] Windischgrätz was not so blood-thirsty as he often has been represented. He was a man of cold haughtiness, who on principle commanded those executions, which, after the conquest of Vienna, horrified civilized Europe, long unaccustomed to such scenes. His sentences did not aim at individuals, but at the classes to which they belonged. The first necessity according to his views was, to have a German representative shot, hereby to express his contempt for the Parliament of Frankfort, and to render the breach between the ideal German unity and the Austrian Empire irreparable. Frœbel, who was chief of all the democratical Austrian clubs in Germany, was likewise in his hands; but by the newspapers the name of Blum had become more familiar to the Prince. He executed Blum, and dismissed the other representatives. Next, a Polish victim was deemed indispensable; Bem had fled: in his stead his aide-de-camp, Jelovizki, was doomed to death. Thirdly, some officers of the National Guards were destined to fall. Baron Sternau was shot; one was thought sufficient. With the same logic, one editor of newspapers was deemed sufficient to terrify this dangerous people; to poor Doctor Becher this fate was allotted. The Jews were defamed as radicals: Doctor Jellinek, the young enthusiastic disciple of Hegel, expired by the balls of the riflemen, that in him all who were of his faith might symbolically be punished. On the same principle, a workman and an obscure Hungarian were shot, as representatives of their class and their nationality. But the man who had been an Austrian officer, who had borne arms against his previous comrades—Messenhauser—could in no case be pardoned. Though in truth he accepted the chief command of the National Guards, only in compliance with the express summons of the "Common Council," and though the Austrian Diet had ratified his appointment, entrusting him with the defence of Vienna, nevertheless, when an Austrian officer had fought against the Imperial army, Windischgrätz could not leave it unrevenged. As Messenhauser had been sentenced by the common court-martial, not by the drum-head court-martial, *three* days were allotted to him, according to the law, between the sentence and his execution. But when the Field-Marshal Lieutenant Welden, Commander of Vienna, was apprised that a deputation from the Common Council had gone to the Emperor at Olmütz to claim grace for the condemned, and that several representatives had joined this deputation, he gave order for the execution on the *second* day after the sentence had been pronounced. The Judge-Advocate protested against the illegality of this proceeding. Welden had promised to Windischgrätz to have Messenhauser in any case executed. When the deputies returned from Olmütz with the pardon, the Commander of the National Guards had been already shot.

Hungary. On the Moravian frontier, Simonich stood with 12,000 men; on the Galician side, Schlick, with 15,000. From Transylvania—Puchner, Wardener, and Urban, had taken threatening positions. The Banat was endangered by the Serbs. On the borders of Croatia, Generals Nugent and Dahlen assembled an army. In the country itself, three principal fortresses—Arad, Temesvár, and Esseg—were in the hands of the enemy. Hungary was attacked from nine sides at once. To these calamities was added her total isolation from all foreign countries, and the interruption of trade with Austria. There was a lack of arms, of gun-caps, and of medicine. In the whole country no more than four hundred weight of brimstone could be got; no linen and no cloth could be imported,—articles, both of them, now more than ever requisite. But Kossuth and the Committee of Defence did not despair. Whilst Görgey in Pressburg organized his troops and accustomed them to the fire by daily skirmishes, the Committee in Pest erected manufactures of arms, of gun-caps and of detonating powder; prepared brimstone from pyrites, established saltpetre houses, employed all the tailors and shoemakers of the land, on uniforms and boots for the army; and by their own resolution encouraged the Diet and the whole country.

It was from Transylvania that the danger was urgently threatening: thither, accordingly, General Bem was sent, on the 1st of December. As the commencement of an army he had four thousand men, dispirited troops, who had fled from that country in the recent disorders. Amongst them, the German legion alone could wholly be depended on, which consisted of Viennese students, who indeed, in the defeat at Deés, had defended and saved the cannons. Besides these brave volunteers, Bem had one battalion of well-tried Székely infantry, three thousand recruits who never had been in the field, and thirty cannons.

Before Bem left Pest, he told the Committee, that with these 8,000 men, he would in a fortnight invade Transylvania;—would first beat Wardener, and take Deés, the key of the country, and after that, Kolosvár. When he had achieved this, he would pursue and chase away Urban, from the Wallach districts next to the Bukovina; and as soon as he had thus effected a junction with the faithful Székelys, he would drive the Austrians out of the Saxon land at the point of the bayonet. The Members of the Committee were glad to see that Bem was so sanguine about his difficult task; but they could not help taking his words for rhodomontade, which must not be exactly calculated upon. No one believed that the great General would not only keep his word most brilliantly, but achieve much more than he had ever promised.

Perczel kept guard of the Croatian frontier; when threatened

by the Austrians, he took them by surprise at Fridau in Styria, and forced them to retire. In spite of this it was obvious, that as soon as Windischgrätz should begin his operations, Perczel would be unable to resist the great numerical superiority of Nugent and Dahlen. In Sclavonia, Count Casimir Batthyányi had by lucky boldness, with National Guards, and a few Honvéds, taken the fortress of Esseg, from which he kept Sclavonia in check.

Kossuth was anxious to aim one great stroke against the Serbs, before he withdrew the army of Lower Hungary from their neighbourhood, as a necessary reinforcement to Pest. He therefore called the brave General Kiss and Colonel Damianics to a Council of War at Pest. It was resolved, that whilst, by a feigned attack on Földvár, the Serbs were decoyed into the Roman entrenchments, the camp of Tomasovacz should be stormed. Damianics proposed, if his forces were strengthened by only two báttalions of Honvéds, to clear the whole military frontier from Weisskirchen down to the Theiss. This proposal appeared impracticable. But as the attack on Földvár and Tomasovácz failed, owing to a sudden autumnal mist, which rendered any combined operation difficult, Damianics got the two battalions he had wished for. Reinforced by these, he completely defeated the Serbs at Lagerndorf, took Tomasovácz by storm, and cleared the frontier of the Banat. Only Pancsova and Zemlin remained in the hands of the Serbs. But Colonel Márjássy, on the banks of the Maros, attacked the fortress of Arad in vain.

In the county of Sarós, in the North, the Hungarians proved far less successful. The Austrian General Schlick invaded the country by the defiles of Dukla. Against him the Hungarian Colonel Alexander Pulszky, on the 8th of December, took post on the height of Kassa (Kaschauer-Berg), with hastily assembled National Guards, and was beaten. Three hundred Poles, however, who, under Colonel Tohorsnizki had supported the Hungarians, covered the retreat. By them the chief of the staff of Schlick's army was taken prisoner. The Austrians themselves acknowledged, in their bulletin, "that this victory had been dearly bought." General Mészáros, the Hungarian Minister of War, now took the command of the troops against Schlick. Szemere, Minister of the Interior, hastened to Miskolcz, the chief town of the county of Borsod, to raise the enthusiasm of the people, and to organize the general levy. But Mészáros too was defeated, first at Szikszo, afterwards at Bárcza; notwithstanding his numerical superiority. Schlick advanced to the Theiss unopposed, and threatened Debreczen, until he was beaten by Klapka in January.

Whilst thus the armies were occupied in all directions, Kossuth made one more attempt to avoid the calamitous war, well aware that it could only end with the fall either of Hungary or of the

dynasty. He, therefore, wrote to Mr. Stiles, Envoy of the United States in Vienna, entreating him, in the interest of humanity, to obtain from Prince Windischgrätz an armistice with the Hungarians. The envoy answered: "that he would readily have complied with the request, but that Prince Windischgrätz declined to treat, and demanded unconditional surrender." At the same time the tidings came, that on the 2d of December, the Emperor Ferdinand had abdicated in Olmütz; that his brother, Francis Charles, had renounced his claim to the throne, and that the son of the latter, a youth nineteen years old, was now Emperor.

A part of the Hungarian representatives saw in these last events a spark of hope. Many believed that the young Emperor would celebrate his accession by an amnesty; that, according to the laws, he would assemble a Diet, in order to be crowned King, and would recognise the legal rights of Hungary. But this illusion was soon dispelled. Instead of the amnesty violent proclamations arrived, not acknowledging any Hungarian Constitution at all. Kossuth and the Committee were declared outlaws, the laws of 1848 were retracted; but assurance was given to the peasants that, although the laws were annulled, the abolition of soccage would be ratified. The Diet answered to these proclamations by protesting against an abdication not previously communicated to the Diet, and by the declaration that Francis Joseph could not be recognised King of Hungary until he had declared his intention to take the oath to the Constitution, and to be crowned according to the laws. Afterwards it became publicly known that the abdication of the Emperor Ferdinand had been deemed necessary, because he had reiterated with genuine simplicity, and with the tenacity of a child, whenever a centralization of the monarchy and the overthrow of the Hungarian Constitution was mentioned: "My oath, my oath, I cannot break my oath!" After his abdication he had fallen ill; the young Emperor also was so disturbed at finding himself suddenly called to the throne, that, as the Vienna papers then related, for several days he could neither eat nor sleep. But the persons had only changed, not the system. The new ministry at Olmütz—Prince Schwarzenberg, Count Stadion, Dr. Bach, and Baron Kraus—set up a dangerous principle: that pledges, coronation oaths, conventions and compacts between the people and its sovereign, bind only the person of that monarch who had given and signed them, but that he cannot bind his successors. The motto of the school of Metternich: *Après moi le déluge*, still remained the leading principle of the government. It did not care for the future, satisfied if it could get rid of the momentary embarrassments.

As this conviction became every day more obvious in Hungary, every one likewise prepared for the struggle of despair. The hatred

in Hungary against the Austrian government increased with every hostile demonstration from that quarter. About this time, while the archives of the Palatine Archduke Stephen were being revised by a commission of the Diet, the following remarkable letter was found, dating from the epoch at which the responsible ministry was granted to the Hungarians.

"Your Majesty!

"The state of Hungary is at this moment so critical, that the most violent oubreak is to be expected daily. Anarchy reigns in Pest.[1] The authorities are displaced from their sphere of action by a Committee of Public Safety; and whilst the Council of the Lieutenancy, under the strong guidance of Count Zichy, maintains, at least outwardly, its consideration, the Hofkammer (Exchequer), is almost a nullity. The nobles also have risen in masses to secure rights *de facto*.

"In this anomalous and critical state of things, every one expects preservation by the immediate formation of a responsible ministry.

"Even if we consider this plan as a calamity, yet the question must be put in this shape: 'Which is the least calamity?'

"I shall at present attempt, in a few words, to bring forward the three measures, by which alone I hope to be able to attain any result in Hungary. The first measure would be, to withdraw the whole armed force from the country, and to leave it a prey to total devastation; to look on passively upon the disorders and fire-raisings, and also upon the struggles between nobles and peasants, &c.

"The second measure would be to enter into negotiations with Count Batthyányi, concerning the motions to be brought forward for laws, and to save everything that can be saved. He is at present the hero of the day, and if we delay longer, his star likewise might wane. But we must know beforehand, what is to be done, in case he should not be satisfied and resign.

"Lastly, the third measure would be, to recall the Palatine and send a Royal Commissary to Pressburg, invested with extraordinary power, and accompanied by a considerable military force; who after dissolving the Diet there, should proceed to Pest and carry on the Government there with an iron hand, as long as circumstances should permit.

"From the first measure, I openly confess, I myself shrink. It is immoral, and it is perhaps not becoming in a Government utterly to desert subjects, of whom a part at least is well-disposed, and to allow them to fall a sacrifice to all the cruelties of an insurrection.

[1] This description of the state of Pest is greatly exaggerated, and it is obvious that the Archduke represented it in these colours in Vienna, to impress more forcibly the necessity of a new arrangement, which he wished to carry through.

Besides, this would have a most prejudicial effect in the other provinces, from the example given by it to the ungovernable, uncultivated masses.

"The second measure on the contrary is a good one; and although it has, at the first moment, the appearance of a separation, it is nevertheless—for the present period, the only measure to preserve this province; supposing always, that the gentlemen now to be appointed are able to exercise full influence upon the interior defence, which certainly cannot be asserted with full confidence beforehand. With the arrival of a more favourable time, much can be organized otherwise, which at present might seem to occasion a separation.

"I do not know, whether something might be gained by negotiations with Batthyányi and Deák;[1] but I know that the negotiation can be carried only through them,—for if things come to debate at Pressburg, everything is to be apprehended. Relative to this, however, as a faithful official of the State, I take the liberty of calling your Majesty's attention to a highly important circumstance. What will happen, if Count Batthyányi, in case of the negotiation's not coming to a successful termination, should be ready to risk everything and resign his office. Here I consider it to be my duty, without exaggeration, but only in conformity with truth, to observe, that we ought to be prepared, in such an event, with an armed force along the Danube, and on the road leading from Pressburg to Pest, to oppose a demonstration likely to be called forth by the young men of Pressburg, and by a part of the nobles. In this case the third measure only would remain. Supposing that the means are not wanting for its execution, this third measure would have to be carried into execution with great haste.

"But here arise some questions.

"(a). Is there not a want of sufficient money; consequently, is it not impossible to send to Hungary a large military force, by which I understand, at least forty or fifty thousand men?

"(b). Is this force at hand, and ready to be employed quickly?

"Is there further:—

"(c). A Commissary to be found, who is willing and qualified to undertake this employment?—but lastly

"(d). Is there no doubt as to whether this measure would be sufficient to obtain the wished for end? Will there not then be a necessity for a greater force in Galicia or Italy?

"If a favourable answer can be given to these questions, which, in my position, I am unable to answer myself,—such an answer that the execution is possible without delusion, and without calculations, which may afterwards prove inaccurate, I have no further

[1] Batthyányi and Deák were at this period at Vienna, Kossuth at Pressburg.

remarks to oppose to the former observations; supposing, that a compromise is attempted with Count Batthyányi, and that, moreover, the opinion is taken of the great officers of the realm, who in any case are to be summoned to Vienna.

"I confess openly, that in the present state of affairs, I should pronounce myself in favour of the second measure; and I doubt not, that also the great dignitaries (although I have not yet consulted them) would be of the same opinion. I have only certainty as to the views of the Judex Curiæ (Chief Justice) Mailáth.

"If, however, your Majesty, according to your wise insight, should consider the first or third measure more suitable, your Majesty will doubtless issue your commands in conformity with the existing laws, and the usage hitherto observed, and give me a notice whether I am at present to remain at Vienna, or whether I may set off in any other direction.

STEPHEN."

March 24th, 1848.

The authenticity of this letter could not be doubted; it was confirmed by the Director of the Archducal archive himself. Thus no doubt could be entertained, that all the events since March, the rebellion of the Serbs in Lower Hungary, of the Wallachs in Transylvania, the invasion of Jellachich, the mission of Lamberg, and in case of necessity, the expedition of Windischgrätz, had as early as March, been contemplated by the Viennese cabinet. Many single facts now appeared the links of a chain forged long since, by which Hungary was to be fettered. The Court had alternately tried all the three expedients, indicated in the letters of the Archduke. First, the negotiation with Count Batthyányi, and the retracting of several concessions in August, which in March had been considered dangerous by the Camarilla, but had been granted in the flood tide of events. Then the different classes, nationalities, and religious parties were incited, one against the other. This failed with the Sclavonians, Ruthenians, Germans and Wallachs in Hungary; yet it succeeded completely with the Serbs and the Croats, with the Saxons and the Wallachs in Transylvania. A great part of the country had thus been devastated, by fire and sword, to further the political aims of the Camarilla. And now, as all this had not wholly achieved its aim, Windischgrätz was coming, with the army and the "fist of iron," whilst the Palatine had left the country.

And in spite of this I would not pronounce as hard a judgment on the Archduke Stephen as at the time every one did in Hungary. He loved Hungary as the country of his birth, but he likewise knew the Court; and was aware, that if he openly advocated the cause of his fatherland, he would lose all his influence in Vienna. The means,

which he indicates in his letter, had obviously not been originally proposed by him. He had heard them in the Viennese cabinet, and he mentions them to refute them in some way, and to advise a negotiation with Batthyányi. In so doing, he certainly likewise speaks of retracting the concessions at a convenient time. But he also was aware, that retrograde movements in politics are often more difficult than progressive measures. If he had expressed himself energetically as to the immorality of the first and third measures, he probably would not have gained anything. If he wanted to deal with the Camarilla, he necessarily adopted the language of those who had invented the schemes in question. In a later period, however, he really supported Batthyányi's ministry, of the loyalty of which he was convinced. He attempted to uphold the laws and the constitution, well knowing that the sacredness of a royal pledge could not be violated without being punished sooner or later. When he saw, however, that the questions could be decided only by open conflict between his country and his family, then, to escape the feud with the latter, he forsook his fatherland. When, by the intrigues of the Camarilla, he had been entangled in a false position, he could not come to any decision. That for which he may be reproached is, that when placed by the course of events in an historical position he had not the courage to become a great man. By the wavering of his character, when the interests of his fatherland were artificially and violently severed from those of his family, he lost at the same time his popularity in Hungary and also all confidence at Court. While he meant well for the land of his birth, and was loyal as a subject, it was his fate to be in both respects condemned without the least indulgence. History, which at some time will judge the events of 1848 impartially, will no doubt, be less hard upon him, and will deal out more justice than his present award; according to which, he, the most distinguished Prince of his house, in the most vigorous period of his life, is condemned to inaction, and to banishment from his fatherland.

Various rumours were repeated in Pest on the morning of the 16th of December. That Windischgrätz had actually invaded Hungary, was reported in the most different shapes. By many it was treated only as a groundless tale; they would not believe in a winter campaign, dreadful to both parties; they would not believe that the young and newly-made Emperor was prepared to seize by arms a crown which he was able to obtain by constitutional means. Others were quite convinced of the correctness of the news; they had no doubt that Windischgrätz was hastening to subjugate Hungary, as he was said to have vowed that he would, as soon as he should have crushed Vienna. Some trusted in a vague report, that

Jellachich was commander-in-chief. Aware of the unpopularity of his name, and his want of military skill, they thought such tidings worth an army for Hungary. On the whole, everybody, excited with expectation, was sensitive to every tale. News spread, everywhere and anywhere, with the irritable swiftness of uncertainty.

In the afternoon, my husband was summoned to a conference with Kossuth, who directed him to hasten to Görgey, that the real state of the case might be ascertained; for inconsistent official accounts had arrived from him. Arrangements were speedily made. The cold was so intense that my husband was obliged to hire a *bunda*,[1] in order not to be utterly frozen in his light open carriage, flying over hill and dale with the peasant's post.[2]

In the night of the 18th to the 19th my husband returned. Görgey had retired from Pressburg. At Tyrnau and Parendorf severe engagements had taken place, in which the Hungarians had been repelled. Görgey had quitted the left for the right bank of the Danube, and was now waiting at Altenburg. There an outpost skirmish took place during my husband's stay. Hungarian bravery proved most brilliantly successful; nevertheless, Görgey said that even the position of Raab must be given up. It had ceased to be strong since the rivers and bogs, its natural and best barricades, had been hardened by the continued frost, and could be easily crossed by the enemy.

My husband looked serious. "If Raab must be given up, Pest cannot be held, was his opinion. The public trust was in Perczel's effecting a junction with Görgey. Perczel was, indeed, advancing from the Croatian frontier, where he had kept a position on the Muraköz; but would he arrive in time? Would he be able to join Görgey? And if this could fortunately be effected, could even their joint force resist the Austrian army, numerically so much their superior? These and a thousand similar questions were incessantly discussed in Pest.

The sittings of the Diet went on. The question of the indemnity to the landed proprietor for his pecuniary loss by the abolition of his manorial rights continued to be discussed.

In the Casino (the most fashionable club), representatives and persons holding public offices daily met, in search of witnesses to their wills. This, however, did not prevent many of these gentlemen from gambling with characteristic thoughtlessness.

[1] Bunda is the fur of a sheep's skin, the inseparable ornament and comfort of the Hungarian peasant. It is his cloak, and in case of need, his bed.

[2] The peasant's post is the general mode of conveyance in some parts of Hungary. In comparison with the Austrian post, that of the peasant may well be called flying. Those poor-looking little horses perform a distance of thirty-two English miles, without stopping, in five hours, at the rate of sixpence a mile.

Kossuth was hardly ever seen out of his house; conferences were held there perpetually: he worked day and night.

Our uncle and aunt arrived from my husband's estates in the northern part of the country. Everybody had fled from that district, where the Austrian force found but little organized resistance. Sequestration of the estates of all who had joined the national cause, signalized the first entrance of the Austrians. So little was anybody prepared for such proceedings, that many of those who fled, had not even removed the ready money left on their estates.

Christmas came:—oh, how dim was the festive joy! Windischgrätz had announced that he would light up the Christmas-trees at Pest. Every one knew this to be impossible; but the very thought deadened the merry sound of the Christmas-bell.

Görgey summoned his wife, then at Pest, to Raab. Many thought this a good omen, a proof of his intention to take up his winter-quarters there; others found in it ground for believing him determined to defend the honour of the country to the last man, as they thought he had summoned his wife, in order to take perhaps a parting farewell of her.

Tidings came: Perczel was advancing, depression was no longer predominant, everybody speculated on possibilities, and hoped.

The 30th, we had news of Bem's having taken Kolosvár (*Klausenburg*).

In the night of the 30th and 31st, my husband was called up. He was to go directly to Kossuth.

My husband did not return till five in the morning. Perczel had been defeated at Moor, before he had effected a junction with Görgey. Pest would probably have to be given up.

Two hours later, my husband departed to pass the frontier of Austria, that very country in which he knew that a price was set upon his head.

He had correctly foretold that the tidings of Perczel's defeat would occasion such a terror all over Pest, that hardly any conveyance could be procured for departure.

All was excitement and alarm everywhere; here, at the chance of a battle in the immediate neighbourhood of Pest, there lest the town be given up as plunder for the wild Croats. Silver and gold, money, jewels, or treasures were hastily concealed, as well as might be, not only by those of the national party, but likewise by the "Black and Yellow." We had a specimen of this in the proprietor of the house where we lived. The ungovernable hordes of Jellachich were equally shunned by all.

I mechanically packed up, provided passports for our servants, and sent them off to join the children, who had already gone forward with our aunt to our estates. My intention was to follow the

next day, after I could have provided for all little necessities,—necessities so long, as no more undeniable necessity appears!

In the evening, the most confused rumours prevailed. "A deputation was said to have been sent to Windischgrätz, offering submission on moderate terms; the Diet was to proceed to Debreczen; Perczel and Görgey had quarrelled; the army was divided." Thus private anticipations mingled their own conjectures with the public occurrences.

At eleven, I lay down exhausted, not exactly indifferent, but passively prepared for all and everything, I fell into a heavy slumber. Loud knocking at my door suddenly made me start; it was a friend who reported with alarm, "that the enemy was said to have already entered the precincts of Bude; that there was the greatest apprehension that it would very soon be impossible to leave the city freely." Then I shall leave instantly; I must join the children. This naturally was my first impression. "But you cannot depart with a passport bearing your name," objected my friend: if you fall in with enemies, they would not let you depart, your husband's name being too well known." But what is to be done? depart *I must.*

A lady, next door to us, aroused by the noise, heard of my difficulties. I had never met her before; she instantly came to me, and offered to interchange our passports, as she was to follow her husband to Debreczen, and, on this route, had nothing to fear from the enemy. I gratefully accepted her kind offer; we met as strangers, we parted as friends.

I drove away at dawn, accompanied by a very disagreeable gentleman, whom I knew but slightly, but who had pressed his company on me; and, in fact, it was at least *somebody*, and, in such circumstances, even a shadow of somebody can be, for moments, a kind of support.

The streets were still deserted; there was hardly any sign of the anxious movements of expectation and apprehension; we scarcely met any trace of unusual excitation.

The railway from Pest to Vacz (Waizen) had already, for a couple of days since, been wholly devoted to military transports. Therefore I was obliged to rattle along the great road, which, since the opening of the railway, had only been used by heavy wagons, and clearly evinced, by frequent shocks, in spite of the smoothing frost, that it had long been unused to genteeler vehicles.

In Waizen, I found little change from what I had seen there some weeks before. Recruits were moving to and fro, and assembled on the main place of the town. The gossipers knew but of rumours, and doubted every fact.

We had to change horses, and I rested a little in a room of the

inn. The door opened hastily, and a gentleman, looking pale and worn-out, exhibited himself.

"Don't follow your road a step farther, Madam (thus I was accosted), the out-posts of the enemy, advancing from Ipolyság, are but about three miles hence!"

I looked quite perplexed at my ghost-like visiter, whose troubled expression contrasted so strongly with his military coat.

"I know—I know," he continued, with the volubility of fear, "our leaders have already escaped from Pest. I have a despatch to deliver to a member of the Committee of Defence, but I know I shall find him no more."

Here I interrupted, assuring him of his manifest error, as he would have no difficulty in finding at Pest, or in following to Debreczen, the person for whom he pretended to be anxious.

"But whither went your husband, Madam?" asked the persevering gentleman.

"Sir, he went on a mission."

Count A., (whom I recognised, having met before,) seeing that his assertions did not act powerfully on me, tried to persuade me at least not to follow the direct road, but to go by the mountains; and he offered to go before my carriage, in order to warn me in time of the approach of danger. I protested strongly against my detaining him, urging my utter want of belief, and my determination not to tarry by any circuit. But he would be detained: and, followed by three other companions, he jumped into his light carriage, which was equally fit for a courier, or for a fugitive. He was soon out of sight. I followed; we drove through a very hilly country. I gave but little credit to the assurances of my Major of the National Guards. However, I peeped out at every turn, expecting to see perhaps some traces of soldiers of one or the other kind. At length I detected several peasants, with guns on their shoulders, peaceably pacing to and fro in the most phlegmatic manner, characteristic of the Hungarians, as long as they are not aroused. These were Hungarian out-posts. Except this living telegraphic notice of the safety all around, we hardly met with a breathing soul; and thus, without delay, we reached our first stage, the very small village of Rétság. There many peasants were assembled in holiday apparel, and holiday idleness. This was the first impression that reminded me of its being New-year's Day. Many crowded around the carriage. The notary of the village—likewise a peasant—in their rear, asked for my passport. Being known in this part of the country, I did not choose to dissemble, and therefore named myself, saying I had no passport, with which my solemn inquirer seemed perfectly satisfied.

Here we dined, and again met Count A., from whom I could not help inquiring where he had left the enemy? He vowed and de-

clared any and everything which could have been, and which, perhaps he thought, had been; and uttered omens of other subjects and probabilities.

We proceeded. My companion's imagination could not or would not get rid of Count A.'s false prophecies; and assured that they must have had some hidden aim, like all timorous persons, long brooding over possibilities, he moulded the most absurd improbabilities into positive certainties; and so logically deduced and supported them by evidence, which he said his own eyes could give, that though I began with laughing at him, I ended, I must confess, by being seized with all sorts of nervous doubts. He at last protested that Count A. was a spy; he assured me he could not be mistaken; he knew spies too well: so much so, thought I, that I begin to feel most uncomfortable in my rueful knight's vicinity. He at last tried to prove that my senses must have deceived me; that this could not have been a count, but a disguised spy, accompanied by tremendous robbers, sent out to pursue my husband, and deliver him to the enemy. Thus Mr. —— worked first himself and, at last, me too, especially as the dusk of the evening gathered around, to such a pitch of terror, that on the morning after my arrival at home, of all my cares I had none greater than to send a trustworthy person in the direction which Count A. had taken, to inquire after him. The result was, that the Count proved in reality to be himself, not a first rate hero of any kind, but a most harmless person, pursuing his road, not in the shortest, but in the safest possible way. In this way very often stories are built up, and, chancing not to be contradicted, figure as facts. In troubled times conjectures are easily transformed into realities.

It was dark when I reached home;—*home*, the endearing and only place, where, day and night, at every hour, we are sure to be welcome. My little darlings greeted me—my dear old aunt welcomed me—all around was peace, as if war and misery did not exist? But the absence of the *centre* of our warmest affections—this to all but the sweet unconscious infants, brought a most painful conviction of the real state of things.

The ensuing day I had many visiters, faithful to the customs of Hungary, where no time whatever can shut out hospitality. One of these was a gentleman (himself a Hungarian), who declaimed against all that had been done by government, and predicted the irretrievable destruction of the national army. This very gentleman, after the heroic feats of his countrymen had driven out the enemy, was one of the first and loudest to commend the government and the glorious Magyar army, calling on the people to defy, not only the Austrians, but likewise the Russians, and whoever dared to invade their country. I am sorry to say, that the same gentleman, though

superior to many in understanding, is a specimen of a whole class of persons, who are, in fact, nothing but the personified echoes of momentary impressions;—the courtiers of success. But I do not think this class of people belongs exclusively to the Hungarians.

I was not pleased with the spirit of our country. It is too near Pest not to imbibe its influence. Pest feared, Nógrád gave way. Friends called on me, wondering that I still was there. They warned me not to tarry too long in Szécsény; they would offer me their hospitality, but they feared for me and mine, of course. Not feeling comfortable under these circumstances for those next to my heart, on the 5th of January I committed my children and my aunt to our excellent clergyman, to convey them to one of our cousins, residing in the neighbouring county. As to myself, I wanted to await the return of the manager of our estates, who was absent at the time; to whose care my husband had entrusted me and the children previous to his departure.

At midnight, the very night after my little family had set off, a messenger arrives from Balassa-Gyarmath, and brings a letter. I break the seal and read:—"The enemy is reported to be in Rétság; hasten to depart."

I was ill at the time; so weakened, that I am sure, in days of peace, I should have felt unable to move; in days of danger however, strength grows with exertion. In two days, I was ready, stimulated by the dread of being cut off from my children.

A dear friend, our physician, came; then his wife, and many of those employed on the estate; then the servants and all thronged around me, and wept, and feared, and hoped; and felt that with me the last tie of our family was departing. I hardly saw, or heard, or felt. I had undergone much; I had more to undergo. I trusted to Him, who never forsakes us as long as we do not forsake ourselves.

CHAPTER XI.

FLIGHT TO THE MOUNTAINS.

I HAD the good fortune to overtake the children early in the morning in Losoncz, where they had slept. Poor darlings! they had slept as soundly as in their own beds, and rejoiced at driving again, and at the silvery flakes of snow, and the sparkling diamonds of the earth's icy garb. Our caravan moved on and reached Rimaszombath, a large market-place in the county of Gömör. There we could

hardly get accommodation for our horses, a great fair being held just then. We found in the inn and its yard noisy crowds of smoking men, bustling women, eating children, tired horses, patient cattle, and fettered calves and lambs, wofully bleating and bellowing. The day was far advanced before we could get on. We then could hardly distinguish the objects by which we passed, the windows being blinded by hard frost. Our journey appeared endless to my wearied mind. Late at night we arrived at our cousin's, never too late for the kind religious hospitality of an Hungarian hearth and board. We met a numerous company, and found in almost every member a relation; this is a very natural occurrence in Hungary, where every relationship, if it be even in the hundredth degree, is considered a holy indissoluble tie. Very often persons of the most different stations in society are connected in this way, and never would conceive it possible to disown it, under any circumstance whatever. It would likewise be considered a sin never to be forgiven, to treat one's relations without proper regard. Owing to this the familiar "Thou" is nowhere more used than in Hungary; persons about the same age always address each other with this endearing familiarity, and gentlemen generally call to each other by the words "Uram Bátyám" or "Uram Ocsém," that is: "My dear Mr., my brother." Children call every man "Bácsi" (uncle), and every woman "Néni," (aunt). The peasant speaking to his lord mixes not unfrequently the appellation of "Lelkem," (my soul), with the more ceremonious titles, which he uses with the most perfect knowledge of the gradations of rank; and the lord often calls the peasant "Lelkem." Thus no lack of courteousness is risked to a possible relative.

These patriarchal relations may be the brightest remnants of feudal institutions, and these, I am sure, as everything really good cannot subside, and leave no mark behind them, but will survive the abolition of feudalism. The veneration of family ties is inseparably connected with patriotism. This is the primitive source which fertilizes the beloved soil, and which purely reflects all the endearing objects by which it is surrounded.

Amongst our friends, I greeted a cousin newly married. This gentleman, weak in health, never took the slightest part in political movements. Notwithstanding this, his house, on his estate in the upper part of the country, which the Austrians had occupied, had been destroyed in the Vandalism of wantonness. His young wife, who was a German lady, happening to be acquainted with some of the inferior Austrian officers, complained of this destructive injustice. The answer was: "We believed that your husband's house belonged to his uncle, who is manifestly attached to the rebel party. It is a mistake; we regret, but cannot help it." It was *a fait accompli*.

In our small circle we had representatives of all shades of opinions

in the national party. One feared and thought resistance impossible; another said: "Pest is not Hungary!" the third "The right, and St. Stephen's crown are ours; who can take them from us?" But all were Hungarians, and this is synonymous with a firm belief, an almost superstitious conviction, that Hungary in reality cannot be lost; that its genius, the "Magyarok' Istene" (the God of the Hungarians), never forsakes it; that, at the very moment, when everything appears lost to human power, he interposes in behalf of his favourites. This uncalculating and unquestioning belief in the genius of Hungary, has ever given inspiration to its nationality, even amid political destruction.

In the whole course of my experience I remember but one Hungarian, who thought the numerous and old disciplined forces of the Austrians all-powerful; but it may be remarked, that this gentleman is a hero, who hides under his counterpane, at the very approach of a thunder-storm.

All tidings of the armies' movements were expected with nervous impatience. Rumours growing like an avalanche, brought the most exaggerated reports of the cruelties perpetrated in the capital. Plunder was, according to them, the order of the day, and excess the Croat's pastime. This proved in great part untrue; but the fact was, that arbitrary measures ruled, and where these reign as irresponsible tyrants, their servile attendants, cruelty and excess are naturally supposed to follow.

Görgey was said to have retired without battle, and to be retreating to the natural fastnesses of the mountains. Thus the enemy were daily expected to spread over the country.

A silent terror seized upon the proprietors, especially the elder ones, who, better acquainted with the difficulties of acquiring a fortune, apprehended the probable devastation or spoliation of their property.

My poor younger boy fell ill. I sent many miles for a physician, but happily, before he arrived, nature had proved the best physician.

Company was constantly coming and going; officers from Görgey's camp availed themselves of a night's leisure to ride over and see their relations. These officers were not at all sentimentally disposed; they indulged in no dreams of glorious death; but looked to their profession as a matter of fact, a natural duty to be fulfilled, without speculation of any kind.

We had likewise a visit from the poet, Tompa; his lyrical productions and national legends live amongst the people. He is a Protestant clergyman by profession, and a poet by birth.

However, in spite of all social intercourse, and of the soothing influence of habit, I longed for retirement and for the shelter of unnoticed solitude.

Our excellent friend, the manager of our estates, arrived, and thus protected I proceeded with my little family to another relative's estate in the vicinity, where we were left quietly to ourselves. It was in the latter part of January. The country around, in spite of being deprived of every blooming ornament, was magnificent:—peaceful dales, bordered by heights, gentle in their outlines but grand in their wide extension. Above the valley, and under the mountains, several great roads met, ever peopled with wagons of all descriptions. From the conservatory, our little watch-tower, we noted everything going on the roads, and we speculated whether the provisions, which the wagons seemed to carry, would prove sufficient for our army, contending with the severe difficulties of a winter-campaign in the midst of rough mountains. How grateful we felt for shelter and food, whilst thousands were deprived of one or other of these, or at least enjoying them under severe restraints! However, we ourselves were provided only for the present; as soon as the enemy approached, we must leave. Of this we were perfectly aware; but who could care much for the future, whilst the present was threatening with danger? There is nothing like danger as an antidote against danger.

In the mean time the shallowness of my purse reminded me to provide for an uncertain future; and aware that the enemy had—in spite of all alarm—not yet entered the estate where we used to reside, I sent there to see what could be done. This was just in time, a few weeks afterwards Szécsény was sequestrated.

I heard that friends of mine, residing in Austria, had sent to inquire what had become of me. But those interested in my behalf in Hungary, who knew what direction I had taken, did not tell even this messenger, whither I had gone. As far as the enemy's atmosphere reached, nobody trusted anybody; spies and hidden purposes were apprehended everywhere. Distrust is the offspring of such circumstances, and becomes the ever-haunting ghost between two nations, who feel and speak differently. The Hungarian and the Austrian do not understand each other, in spite of their having one feature, in which they may recognise a semblance of relationship. This is sound, natural common sense, which is the great characteristic of both; but there is one striking difference,—the Austrian has in his common sense a turn for ridicule,—the Hungarian, on the contrary, for poetry. This may perhaps be most clearly shown by practical example.

I was present at an Hungarian country-wedding, on which occasion the bride's-man (in this case a peasant) is wont to accompany the ceremony of delivering the bride to her bridegroom with a speech. Now the speech of this man was to the following purport: "Young man, honour your bride. It is God's will that she should be your

companion and friend, not your servant: this our Father in Heaven evinced, by making the woman out of the man's rib. If God had meant the woman to be the man's servant, He would have made her out of the man's heel, to indicate that she should be his footstool; but the All-wise made her out of the part next to the man's heart where she should reside."

I have more than once been present at Austrian country-weddings; and have never heard anything of this kind. I have seen the Austrian peasant slily wink at the bridegroom, warning him of the yoke under which he was about to bend. I have found good-humoured jocularity, but never a shade of the grave solemnity, which is so deeply rooted in the Hungarian nature, and which unites all classes in one common feeling. There is so little of this in the Austrian mind, that the Hungarian is usually in Austria, and especially in Vienna, the butt of general wit.

This, I think, may be one of the causes of the Hungarian ever viewing the Austrian, whom he generally denominates by the vague appellation of "Sváb,"[1] with distrust. He feels that his best nature must remain a soil unknown to one, who wounding for the amusement of a jest, explores nothing beyond the surface in attempted ridicule.

The Hungarian is proud. He may easily be won by an appeal to his generosity, but he never will submit to the contempt of ridicule. He feels it bitterly, and though his feelings may be long repressed, they never die away: sooner or later they find expression in actions which resound in history.

Day after day passed without one warming sunshine of certainty. I sometimes visited a neighbouring castle, where four brothers lived in the patriarchal unity of undivided affection and undivided property. Only one of these brothers took an active part in the struggle of their country. He appeared to be the pride of the family, considered as the impersonation of its genius, beloved as one endeared by the danger of public agitation.

In the estate of this respectable family, I met a peasant who had once served in our family. He had heard of the situation of me and mine, and offered me his hut as an unnoticed and therefore safe shelter. He offered his everything, regardless of the personal risk he might undergo, in parting with his home to an outlaw's wife. I never can forget this man's genuine generosity.

The wide-spreading terror of danger was pressing us nearer and

[1] Most of the German immigrants, who settled in Hungary under the Emperor Joseph, were "Svábes." Many of them were wretched creatures, physically degenerate by misery, and therefore looked down upon by the Hungarian peasants, who, in consequence, not seldom uses "Sváb" as a nick-name, which he extends to all Germans.

nearer. I foresaw the moment when every retreat might possibly be cut off, and longed therefore for a passport, which would insure the freedom of my movements. But how to get one? This was the great question. I applied to some relations for their assistance —by their acquaintance with some of the ruling men in the parts already occupied by the enemy, to procure an Austrian passport for me under a feigned name. But none would be exposed to the responsibility of such an undertaking, in case of detection. What relations dared not, faithful servants undertook!

Two of them, who had never left me, and had followed me through all the hardships and privations of a fugitive,—undertook to procure a passport for me and for my little ones, to enable me, if possible, to join my husband. For this purpose they set out. It was a dark evening, during their absence, when the "gazda" (bailiff) of the estate, rushed in, with the report of the enemy advancing, and probably reaching us this very night. All the inhabitants of our abode, from my dear old aunt to every servant, were so panic-stricken, all except my faithful companion and myself, that they decided to set off that very night, fleeing wherever they could,—but fleeing in every case. I tried to dissuade them, arguing that, to encounter the chance of improbable calamities, was preferable to undergoing certain danger by travelling in doubtful roads on a dark night. Facts arguing in my favour, I gained my point, and was thus enabled to prepare with more leisure for a removal. But whither? Not knowing how to solve this question satisfactorily, I advised my dearly-beloved aunt, with most painful feelings and intense regret, for the present, to separate her fate from mine, and retire to a relation living in town. I did not choose to seek this refuge, fearing, that then I should easily be cut off from receiving tidings of my husband, which could not be conveyed to a place invested by the Austrians. For myself and my little ones, I determined, by the support of our friend, to try to reach a spot which had been indicated to me as safe, and where I was to find some one who could direct us farther. We set off at dawn. My aunt on the great road, I with my little ones, on a by-road. We had no time for packing; all things were thrown, in loose bundles, into the carriage. Thus we rattled on and on; it was long past noon when we arrived at our halting-place. We had not long to wait for the kind gentleman, who was to direct us further; I had never seen him before, but he had heard that a Patriot's wife was in difficulties!—this decided him to undertake a journey in my behalf. But when he saw how very young my children were, and how weak I seemed myself, he deemed it impracticable to reach the refuge he had secured for me; for it was distant from any other human habitation, and to be reached only by a steep path through the woods. But where to go? Our kind-

hearted guide was puzzled,—at last he determined to take us to friends of his own, and intrude us all in a most Hungarian manner on their hospitality. It grew dark before we had decided, and the evening was advanced before we were moving on again with the sweet sleeping infants. Our guide had mounted the coach-box, to save us from losing our way, which the snow alone enlightened.

When we reached our destination, the family to which we were introduced by our companion, was preparing for rest, but they received us like long expected and welcome guests. In half an hour we felt at home. Accommodated in the best room of the cheerful house with my darlings I soon fell into a refreshing sleep, dreaming that our Father in Heaven sent down ministering angels to support and comfort His forlorn children.

When I awoke the next morning, the broad sun shed its rising brilliancy over the rocky hills, the crystallized pine trees, and the dark iron mills, of the quiet dale, by which our lonely house, leaning against a rugged height, was surrounded. It was a lovely scene, sweetly accompanied by the tolling of distant bells, that called young and old, rich and poor, to that thanksgiving, and that expression of trust and hope, which brighten happiness and soothe misfortune.

The family, to whom we now belonged, was one of the kindest I ever have met with, amongst a people in which kind-heartedness is a prominent feature. We had a populous little world of children, which enlivened our peaceful abode, where one day followed the other in uninterrupted uniformity of quiet activity. The third day after our arrival, my faithful servants joined me. They had been guided to our retreat by a cousin, to whom I entrusted the direction of my movements, getting, from time to time, notice through her of what was going on in the more distant part of the country: thus I remained at least in a kind of communication, with the outward world. My attendants had not achieved their end. They pronounced it utterly impossible to get a passport. They had tried their best eloquence with those to whom they had been directed—in vain! No one dared to expose himself, no one dared to move where military despotism reigned. The Austrian officers tried to convince the Roman Catholic inhabitants of that part of the country with arguments not to be gainsaid, that Kossuth's sole aim of agitation was to turn the whole Catholic population to the Protestant creed. This imposture did not effect its aim. The Hungarian is not easily accessible to religious fanaticism; he has nothing of the speculative turn of mind of the German, which is easily inflamed to dogmatic controversy. The Hungarian's imagination is a practical one: attached to the historical traditions of his country, which is rich in examples of religious toleration, he has no notion of the bloody contest of creed with creed. He feels that true religion—the love of

God and man, the holy relation to his Creator, and to his fellow-creature—is superior to the differences of creed. How much of the Papist enters the composition of the Catholic peasantry in Hungary may be denoted by the following little anecdote:

A Catholic candidate, at the elections for the Diet of 1848, in a Catholic county, had carried on a fierce theological agitation against his Protestant rival. He tried to gain an influential rustic voter, by assuring him, that the Catholic church would be seriously endangered if the Protestant candidate chanced to be elected. The Catholic peasant, however, contradicted this assertion, saying: "This cannot be: Kossuth, too, is a Protestant, and is he not our second saviour?" This deeply felt assertion was an expression of too firm belief to be easily contradicted. The Protestant was elected; which proves, that the above-mentioned peasant was not the only one who held this opinion.

Secluded as we lived, seeing hardly any one, except our kind hosts, yet we were ever alive to the slightest report, which reached our mountains. We listened with breathless anxiety to our occasional visiters, who related of the unbending courage of Görgey's troops, hardened by the difficulties they had to overcome. It is said, that the officers and soldiers followed Görgey with blind subordination, and looked up to him with awe.

"What should it be, that thus their faith can bind?
The powers of Thought—the magic of the Mind!
Link'd with success, assumed and kept with skill,
That moulds another's weakness to its will;
Wields with their hands, but, still to these unknown,
Makes even their mightiest deeds appear his own.
Such has it been—shall be—beneath the sun,
The many still must labour for the one!
'Tis Nature's doom—but let the wretch who toils
Accuse not, hate not him who wears the spoil.
Oh! if he knew the weight of splendid chains,
How light the balance of his humbler pains!
Unlike the heroes of each ancient race,
Demons in act, but gods at least in face,
In Conrad's (Görgey's) form seems little to admire,
Though his dark eyebrow shades a glance of fire:
Robust, but not Herculean, to the sight,
No giant frame sets forth his common height:
Yet, in the whole, who paused to look again,
Saw more than marks the crowd of vulgar men;
They gaze and marvel how—and still confess
That thus it is, but why they cannot guess.
Sun-burnt his cheek, his forehead high and pale.

* * * * *

And oft perforce his rising lip reveals
The haughtier thought it curbs, but scarce conceals.

Though smooth his voice, and calm his general mien,
Still seems there something he would not have seen:
His features deepening lines and varying hue,
At times attracted, yet perplex'd the view,
As if within that murkiness of mind
Work'd feelings fearful, and yet undefined;
Such might it be—that none could truly tell—
Too close inquiry his stern glance would quell.
There breathe but few whose aspect might defy
The full encounter of his searching eye:
He had the skill, when Cunning's gaze would seek
To probe his heart and watch his changing cheek,
At once the observer's purpose to espy,
And on himself roll back his scrutiny,
Lest he to Conrad (Görgey) rather should betray
Some secret thought, than drag that chief's to-day.

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Slight are the outward signs of evil thought,
Within—within—'twas there the spirit wrought,
Love shows all changes—hate, ambition, guile,
Betray no further than the bitter smile;
The lip's least curl, the lightest paleness thrown
Along the govern'd aspect, speak alone
Of deeper passions; and to judge their mien,
He, who would see, must be himself unseen.

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Yet was not Conrad (Görgey) thus by Nature sent.

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His soul was changed, before his deeds had driven
Him forth to war with men and forfeit heaven.
Warp'd by the world in Disappointment's school,
In words too wise, in conduct there a fool;
Too firm to yield, and far too proud to stoop,
Doom'd by his very virtues for a dupe,
He cursed those virtues as the cause of ill,
And not the traitors who betray'd him still.

* * * *

On the other side most alarming tidings spread of the ruthless acts of violence, with which the Slovak ex-priest, Hurban, disturbed the counties around us. Having been at his entry protected by Austrian troops, his task was to incite the Slovaks against the Hungarians, and to make up a Slovak levy. He took to a particular mode for the accomplishment of this plan. The nucleus of his levy consisted of breadless beggar-like pedlars.[1]

[1] The pedlars in Hungary are all Jews, or very wretched Sclavonians, the best of them deal with linen; the great bulk deal in earthenwares.

Whenever Hurban arrived at a chief place of Slovak population, he summoned all the male inhabitants without distinction as to either age or occupation, and enforced his summons by practical means. Here he began his orations by praising the Emperor's paternal love for his people, and laid particular stress upon the assurance, "that the monarch was willing to take upon himself the whole burden of governing, in order to spare this care to his subjects." But as such speeches did not make the impression which Hurban expected, he got very angry with "the stupid folk," as he called them. Not much more successful were his orations on the past grandeur of the Sclavonic realm, and on the terrible oppressions which the illustrious sons of that race had suffered from the Magyar nation. He urged them to join the Imperial banner, and when his words proved vain, enforced what he could not persuade. Wherever he went with his lawless band, exactions were the order of the day, the more so as he only used to invade those parts of the country, where no Hungarian troops were. As that was the case with our neighbourhood, we entertained great fear of a visit from Hurban, and his horde.

On the 2d of February, I got the first news of my husband's safety; thanks to the Almighty, this was a great blessing! It was the first Sabbath day of festive repose after long weeks of deep outwearing anxiety, which only a trust in the everlasting bounty saved from proving overwhelming to my feeble frame. I now began to take regular long walks in the morning and afternoon with my sweet children, trying thus to harden the darlings against the intense but dry cold, which, like an energetic mind, strengthens all who are exposed to its influence. How grandly mild was this dale in its solemn simplicity! How radiant of tender sympathy for a yearning heart, when the sun's rosy farewell shone far extending over the hills, embodying thus the longing adieu, the echo of reluctant parting, which seemed to say, "we meet again!"

But over how many graves of fallen friends, and over how many widowed wives, and fatherless children, and over how many roofless abodes, where raged the destructive storm of war, did these smiling rays shine!

Our kind hosts, anxious for our comfort, with truly parental care never inquired who I was? not only the father and mother, but even the younger members of the family, from whom childish curiosity might naturally have been expected, never so much as hinted a desire of knowing my name and former residence. They had, of course, been instructed by our protecting guide, that we had been driven from home, and they inquired no farther.

We got tidings from our estate, that it had been sequestrated; return thither was thus out of the question. I again sought means

of joining my husband in safety. I applied to a gentleman in the neighbourhood, a foreigner, trusting that, by his connexions, he could forward my purpose. He proved most willing and ready, but in vain.

At this time, the awful report came, that Hurban was advancing towards our peaceful dale. We packed up the few things we had, and prepared to resort with our little regiments of infants to a remote abode, at the very top of a mountain, where not a living soul resided, except the forest-warden: but alas! no spot, however secluded, would have been inaccessible to the wide-spreading commotion. A chattering indiscretion, not rare with the Hungarians, (who generally by no means partake in the apostle Thomas's incredulity, but rather are apt to be guilty of the opposite extreme), published the rumour, that bayonets were concealed at the very place to which we were anxious to fly. This, naturally, cut off our retreat, as Hurban was sure to hear of the bayonets, of which he *then*, no doubt, would go in search.

I feared nothing more than that, when the enemy came, I might compromise the respectable family to whom I was so much indebted. I was therefore anxious to depart; but whither? this was the question constantly returning, and not easily answered.

I applied for advice to him who was the ever faithful companion and protector of myself and my dearest ones. We at last settled on calling again on my excellent cousins, who, being well acquainted with the whole country, could at least give us some directions.

So we parted from our new, but well-tried friends, from the secure shelter, where we had passed a comparatively happy fortnight, and again set out on the agitated sea of uncertainty. We had a short day's journey to my cousin. She gave me a direction, with the following words of hasty introduction, — "A friend in need;" and thus provided we wandered on.

Towards evening our carriage stopped in a cheerful village, at the door of a comely house. I must own my heart beat strongly. To resort with children, and all their necessary accompaniments, to utter strangers, unacquainted with their disposition and means, this was a heavy task. Necessity, however, is a stern leader. I had no choice!

Often in after days, when I enjoyed in this smiling mansion the unrestrained comfort of home, I remembered the heavily-depressing feelings, with which I first stood on its threshold—an *intruding* stranger, as yet unaware of the genuine kindness of its inhabitants, who offered their bounty so generously, that I never experienced with them the humiliating pang, which thrills through the heart, when we receive material benefits from strangers.

This our kind-hearted hosts understood most practically, and thus we very soon were strangers no more to one another. My

intention, however, was not to intrude longer than could be avoided in my way. I therefore exerted again all my energy to procure a passport. I inquired, applied, sent in different directions, and at last, with a woman's tenacity, trusted that it must be got. So I ventured a great attack, and sent to Pest itself, the head-quarters of the Austrian martial-government, to ascertain what could be done. My desire was to get for myself and my little ones a passport under an assumed name, to be thus protected from the possible insult which my Hungarian name might draw upon me, when I chanced to meet rough soldiers, or especially if I should come in the way of any of Hurban's troops, who, as it was generally asserted, were delighted at any pretext for plunder. The answer I got from Pest was not encouraging. It said, "Travelling under an assumed name, with a passport to this purport, is, according to the Austrian laws, punished with imprisonment in the house of correction, and this is now more sternly kept than ever. You must expose yourself to a journey to Pest: there a passport to Vienna may perhaps be granted to you by favour. It is true that in Vienna you get no passport to foreign countries, but from thence escape is easier."

I must confess I could not find out the wisdom of this advice. If escaping was indispensable from Vienna, why not directly from the place where I was, which was much nearer to the frontier? If an assumed passport was prohibited, why escape certainly was so too. As to the morality of travelling, in any circumstances, under an assumed name, I had no scruples. Do not princes and their families frequently travel under assumed names, for the sole aim of saving themselves from troublesome ceremony? Why should I then, thought I, not travel under an assumed name, when I simply and solely do it not to be molested by rough soldiers?

As for going to Vienna, probably to be detained there, I had not the slighest inclination. I did not choose to risk it, but rather was inclined to attempt an escape. Why should I be prevented from joining him to whom I lawfully belonged? My strength, however, began to fail. Kept up only by violent excitement, it gave way at the very moment of more repose. In ill-health, with two infants, and with the prospect of soon having a third, how should I travel, with such risks to undergo as an assumed name exposed me to?

My heart yearned to join my husband; my anxiety for the children urged me not to risk it. So the scales of my opposed wishes stood pretty equal. In such a state, a little incident may decide. A home, in the most affectionate sense of this term, was offered to me, and gratefully accepted.

At this period sunshiny rays of hope broke through the wintry clouds of depression, which, at the entry of the Austrians, had darkened our horizon.

CHAPTER XII.

WAR SCENES OF THE WINTER CAMPAIGN.

In the first days of January, Kossuth and the Committee of Defence had held a council of war at Pest, with the Generals Görgey, Vetter, Perczel, and Lázár. A deputation, at the head of which were Batthyányi, Deák, and Archbishop Lonovics, had proceeded to the camp of Windischgrätz with proposals of peace; but they were all detained, and Windischgrätz declared, that: "he did not treat with rebels, and would accept nothing short of an unconditional surrender." After this no hope as to an agreement could any longer be entertained. It was, therefore, resolved not to risk a decisive battle under the walls of Buda, but to give up the capital, and to transfer the government over the Tisza (Theiss), until the lower army, which at that very time had beaten the Serbs, could move up the Maros.

Görgey was to march over the mountains of Upper Hungary, to secure and carry off everywhere the government stores, and to threaten and to disjoin the columns of the Austrian Generals Götz, Jablonovski, Deym, Ramberg, and Schlick.

As soon as Görgey had left Pest, he issued from Vácz a proclamation, in which he declared: that the Hungarian army fought for nothing else than for the laws of 1848, and for the legitimate King Ferdinand V., and that it would defend the fatherland independently of any other authority. This was in fact a repudiation of Kossuth and the Committee of Defence.

Görgey now marched in three columns to Upper Hungary. Guyon commanded the rear, and by his fortunate and heroic manœuvre at Ipolyság, on the 10th of January, 1849, he covered the whole baggage and saved it thus from the pursuing enemy. Görgey himself, however, on the 17th of January met a decided check at Selmecz (Schemnitz) from the Austrian Generals Götz and Jablonovski. Guyon at the head of the northern column was more successful, and carried away the gold and silver stores of the government from the mining districts, and from Neusohl the provisions of gunpowder. He reached the county of Szepes without any serious engagement. At Iglo (Neudorf), the Austrians took him by surprise in the night of the 2d of February; a bloody struggle ensued in the streets, in which the Hungarians remained victorious and dispersed the enemy. Guyon then advanced to the county of Sáros, here he was opposed by a division of Schlick, which occupied the defiles of

the steep heights of the Branyiszko. This elevated position, which was deemed impregnable, was stormed by Guyon and his brave men from below the valley. He was obliged to sacrifice the fourth part of his heroic troops, but all the defiles were carried,—the Austrians fled, completely routed. At the Tisza they twice had been beaten by Klapka, the 12th and 18th of January, and had been driven towards Kassa, where Görgey came to meet them. Thus pressed from two sides, they pursued in hasty marches the only passage left open by the narrow valleys of the counties of Torna and Gömör; at last they reached the neighbourhood of Tornallya, where Schlick took position on the favourable ground in the valley between Tornallya, Beje, Kiralyi, and Sajó Gömör, and granted rest to his exhausted men.

On the 14th of February, several of the Austrian Generals were dining in Sajó Gömör. Suddenly cannons resounded from the north, in the direction of Aggtelek. The startled officers hastened to ascertain the cause;—in half-an-hour the whole corps was in battle array. The third column of Görgey was fully expected. His outposts had in fact fired the shots which had occasioned the alarm, but the Hungarians had retired again. The Austrians had hardly encamped when repeated shots were heard from the opposite side. General Dembinsky, who had been at Miskolez, had in time been apprised of the movements of the Austrians, and now came with eight-thousand men, to take Schlick in his rear. The Austrians were panic-stricken. Eye-witnesses related that even officers ran about crying aloud: "We are surrounded, we are lost!" A violent cannonade ensued for several hours, but no close attack was made by Dembinsky: he obviously awaited Görgey. The night silenced the cannonade. On the following morning the enemy had disappeared. Schlick had escaped with his corps to Rimaszombath, from hence to the mountains of Heves, and to the plain of Kápolna, where at last with his troops decimated by the Hungarians, as well as by the restless marches, he joined the main corps of Windischgrätz.

Already then, in many quarters, the suspicion was entertained, that Görgey, jealous of Dembinsky, had on purpose not supported him; and had on this account failed to urge the pursuit of Schlick, who could have been destroyed by the co-operation of the two Hungarian chiefs.

Dembinsky had come in January from Paris to Debreczen. He accompanied Perczel on a successful expedition, who gained, at Szolnok, an advantage over the enemy, of which however he did not sufficiently avail himself.

Dembinsky was hereupon appointed Commander-in-chief of the Hungarian armies.

After the brilliant success of Guyon at the Branyiszko, Görgey

had sent official reports to Debreczen, and had submitted to Kossuth and the Committee. In consequence, he received orders to join the army of the Tisza (Thiess); but Görgey's ambition was wounded at the position Dembinsky held, to whose command he was to be subordinated after the junction of the armies. Görgey could not bear any superior. Accordingly, when Windischgrätz, to save Schlick, marched towards Kàpolna to meet him, and Dembinsky and Görgey joining there, accepted a battle on the 24th of February, a disagreement arose during the battle between the two generals. Görgey refused to execute the orders of his Chief, which he declared to be pernicious. The consequence of this discord was, that a murderous struggle of two days had no decided result. The Hungarians lost ground the first day, but after the resistance experienced on the 25th, Windischgrätz did not venture to continue the battle on the third day, but returned to Pest. Dembinsky and Görgey marched to the Theiss. The spirit of the Hungarians, however, was raised anew by the victory of Damianics, at Szolnok, on the 26th of February.

Field Marshal Lieutenant Schlick, on his flight from the upper parts of the country, passed through our near neighbourhood, with his corps and several Austrian generals. They were accompanied by many carriages, occupied by anti-national Hungarians and their families, who were leaving their paternal soil, because their countrymen had reoccupied it. I was assured that these renegades acted, wherever they could, with more wanton destructiveness than any of the Austrian soldiers. In one house, those gentlemen used the satin counterpanes as accoutrements for their horses. They pierced with pins the portrait of a highly respected and beautiful lady, dead long ago, only on account of her having been related to one of the Hungarian leaders. One of the most noted of these rebels against their own fatherland, Count Maurice Pálffy, freely asserted at this period: "that if the Austrians could not succeed in crushing the Hungarians, the Russians would be called in, and if this did not prove sufficient, the peasants and the working classes in Hungary would be incited against the higher orders."

The majority of the Austrian officers likewise did not set an example of forbearing civility. I know of a general, who accosted a lady as a "Hungarian dog," because her wine did not satisfy his taste, and he believed "that she probably kept the better stores for the rebels." Another refused to understand Hungarian—"this rebel language," as he styled it—notwithstanding his perfect knowledge of it.

On the other side, some of the Austrian officers were highly praised by the Hungarians, who had to deal with them; but almost all knew little or nothing of the real state of Hungary and its inhabitants. They repeated the hackneyed story of Kossuth's aim to

become king, and other similar tales of quite as little foundation, and were absolutely ignorant of the Hungarian Constitution, which, at least, may claim to be of more ancient date than the Austrian one, framed at Vienna, Kremsier, and Olmütz. Of one national characteristic the Austrian soldiers, however, soon became aware: that the Hungarians are patriots, and that the war was a national one. At Rimaszombath, General Schlick mustered his troops. Some of the bystanders were admiring the precision with which the soldiers performed the evolutions, when a little boy, who chanced to play in the street, cried out: "But in spite of this they shall be turned out of the country." One of the officers was about punishing this audacious expression of patriotism; but the General interposed in favour of the urchin, and said: "Patriotism is here instilled with the mother's milk!"

General Schlick became almost popular with the Hungarians, not on account of his way of dealing with them, but because he was considered in Hungary the most distinguished of the Austrian commanders. An anecdote was current about him, which, if perhaps not entirely correct, is characteristic of the public feeling.

Schlick had, many years ago, been stationed in Hungary; and it happened now, that a hussar, who had formerly attended him in private service when he was a colonel, had in one of the battles on the Tisza (Theiss) been taken prisoner by the Austrians. Schlick recognised him; and when the man appealed for his release to his former master, it was granted. Nevertheless, the hussar yet remained at the Austrian camp, and presented himself at the General's once more, most humbly thanking him, at the same time avowing that a hussar was but half a man without his sabre; which of course had been taken from him, when he was made prisoner. "Well," answered Schlick, "you shall have it." The hussar's countenance brightened, and he gladly turned to the door; but stopped anew, and turned again to the General, who thereupon inquired what he wanted still? "My lord Colonel," the man replied, "I wish you so well, that I would give you good advice: do join us Hungarians; we are such honest people." The General was moved at the genuineness of his ancient servant, but sternly said: "Begone!" The faithful soldier marched off with wonted subordination.

This affectionate sincerity, a national feature with the hussars, is strikingly matched with his undaunted daring; it may be called phlegmatic boldness and presence of mind.

In March, two hussars rode over from the Hungarian camp at Kövesd to the next village, to take a glass of wine. They found but poor stuff, and proceeded farther in search of this restorative. Nothing of the kind was to be had according to their tastes. So they went on and on, in search of their favourite beverage, till they at

last chanced to arrive at Gyöngyös, about thirty-five English miles from Kövesd. They stopped at the inn, and getting what they desired, they feasted there comfortably, and began to inquire from the innkeeper if there were still any Austrians in the town. The reply was, that they had left some days ago. Our men further asked, if the Mayor of the place was a patriot. "Not so much so," answered the host, and related, that on the preceding day, the magistrate had sent provisions to the enemy. After having done with their meal, the hussars proceeded to the Mayor; reproached him with his conveyance of provisions to the enemy, and announced that quarters must directly be prepared for six thousand men of the Hungarian army. After thus frightening the Mayor and those of the inhabitants who while the enemy was yet near at hand, were afraid to obey the commands of only two hussars, they closely examined whether none of the Austrians had remained behind, and heard that there was one officer who had delayed on account of an indisposition. The two adventurers found out his abode; went straight up to the officer, Colonel Montecucculi, accosted him as their prisoner, and assured him that resistance was vain, as their squadron was awaiting them within a little distance. The Colonel submitted; he was led to a wagon which they had previously ordered, and seated in it, and thus the hussars led him to their distant camp.

With such men, the healthful impersonation of the great bulk of their people, the Austrians had to deal; and so little did they understand these vigorous natures, in spite of their intercourse with them for centuries, that they employed means which certainly never could act favourably on those whom they wished to impress. This was not only obvious in the contents of their proclamations, but likewise in the manner in which the publication of such manifestoes was enforced. All over the districts in which the Austrians had sway, the priests and clergymen of all confessions were ordered to read from the pulpit, or before the altar, the proclamations of Windischgrätz. This command was given also to a clergyman of a village in the county of Torna, who had no great inclination to obey it. After having been repeatedly called upon to submit to the command, he saw no way to escape compliance, and at last said to the ruling officer: "I am ready; but when I shall read the proclamation, do let two of your soldiers stand at both sides of the altar, threatening me with fixed bayonets." The officer objected that this was opposed to the custom, and therefore could not be done. But the clergyman urged so strongly, that the support of military power would considerably enforce the effect of the words, that he carried his point. At the unwonted spectacle of the bayonets threatening their clergyman, the peasants were so utterly taken up with staring, that they did not listen to a single word of the proclamation.

But not only proclamations, but proscriptions likewise were read in the sacred spot, where the Word of God alone should be pronounced.

With Schlick and his retreating army we received some of these lists of proscription. They varied considerably, as the commanders of every corps proscribed different persons, according to the dictates of his individual views. In the south, General Kiss and the deputy Vukovics were proscribed, and all those who had served as superior officers or civil commissaries against the Serbs. In Croatia this fate was allotted to all the friends of the Hungarians. How incorrectly the Austrians estimated the real position and influence of the Hungarian leaders, the lists of Schlick gave remarkable evidence. They contained a dozen names. Of course those of Kossuth, Szemere, Pulszky, Nyáry, and Madarász, as members of the Committee of Defence, and Mészaros, Perczel, Bem, Count Casimir Batthyányi, as generals. But next to these likewise the poet Petöfy; then the half crazy deputy Stancsics, whose speeches and leading articles in his journal could get him no influence; Szöllösy, once interpreter in Zemlin, whose task now was in the ante-room of Kossuth, to entertain those who came to speak to the President of the Committee; lastly Irányi and Lukács, both Commissaries, the latter in Györ (Raab), the former in Eperies, both energetic and intelligent young men, but who manifested their activity only in a limited sphere. Kossuth's wife and his three children were added to these, and all were represented as fugitives. Their descriptions in the Hue and Cry, were on this account especially advertised at the Galician frontier.

Some of the portraits were not only faithfully, but even poetically drawn in the proscriptions; others of these were remarkable for their inaccuracy and absurdity.

Kossuth's portrait was given in a manner in which a novelist might depict his hero. His proud forehead was set in contrast with his smiling lip and pearly teeth. The brilliant glow of his dark blue eyes, shadowed by the long black eyelashes, was as well noted as the sickly paleness of the noble countenance. His charming voice was especially pointed out; no less his knowledge of all the principal European languages; and besides, it was mentioned that in summer he never used to wear a cravat, but simply a curled collar. This little circumstance seemed to imply, that in spite of the flight ascribed to the parties denoted, yet the proscribers anticipated that the war might last to the summer. But compared to the description of Kossuth, the sketch of his wife was not favourable. She was noticed as haughtily glancing down upon others. Poor woman! suffering in her eyes, she certainly would not have been recognised by the sharp haughtiness of her glance. But it was re-

volting, no doubt, to see a helpless lady with three children, the eldest hardly eight years old, thus persecuted as outlaws.

With Mészáros the Hue and Cry also could not help acknowledging that he had the honest countenance of a hussar. Madarász however was treated maliciously by the assertion, that his colour was Black and Yellow. On the whole, the likeness given of him was a caricature: it was said that he had the physiognomy of a gipsy, and large hands habitually inserted in the pockets of his blue mackintosh.

In the round and healthful face of Szemere, pensive reverie was detected. Irányi was painted as an Adonis, just accomplished by the hands of his fashionable tailor. My husband was unrecognisable from the description. Relative to Nyáry—who never was a disciple of fashion—it was mentioned, "his dress is not known, but is in any case elegant." That Petöfy was also proscribed, could not fail to attract particular attention. It proved that the Austrians were as much afraid of a poet as they were of orators and generals. His proscription was a tribute to his genius. He was no editor of newspapers, but his name was well known all over Hungary. Every one knew the poet, who, not yet twenty-five years old, was the pride of his country.

Petöfy, born in 1823, was the son of the keeper of a Csárda,[1] in Lower Hungary, who at the same time was a butcher. The boy attended the school of the village, afterwards the college of Debreczen, and became at last a common soldier. But he did not give up literary pursuits, and had at that period printed in the newspapers several small poems which attracted attention. The life of an Austrian soldier, completely subordinate to the arbitrary whims of his brutal corporal, and to the often no less brutal arrogance of the Austrian officer, soon grew insupportable to the young poet. He left the military service, engaged himself as comedian with a wandering troop, but in this line likewise he did not prove successful. He was not destined to be the Garrick of his fatherland. In one of his wanderings he came to Pest, and published more of his poetry. The critics dealt hardly with him. Petöfy had the susceptibility of a self-taught genius, and was not free from the rudeness of the son of the open plain. His poetry was animated with the vigorous breath of nature. These primitive accents of the prairie produced the same effect in the artificially refined society of Pest, which the deeply-felt melodies of Burns made on the carefully polished English lyric of his times.

At first Petöfy was naturally severely censured. He was re-

[1] Csárda is a tavern on the wide plain in Lower Hungary, resembling a "Khan" in eastern countries.

proached with the neglect of rule, and with the insignificance of some of his poems. To these, in part well-founded criticisms, Petöfy answered in a most unscientific manner, mingling the conceit of inexperience with the pride of the poet aware of his vocation. A novel, which he wrote at this period, did not answer at all: it showed that he had not the slighest knowledge of the relations of society. In this respect his dress was entirely in accordance with his notions. Nothing could induce him to wear a French-fashioned evening dress, or a cravat, or gloves, or a narrow-rimmed hat. These peculiarities estranged him from educated society, and this embittered him to a certain extent. Nevertheless, by the ingenious purity of his poems, their lyrical powers, and their improving artistical accomplishment, he became the favourite of the public. By and by his roughness got smoothed; probably his marriage with an amiable person had its share in this fortunate metamorphosis; but he remained the sworn enemy of cravats.

He then also took more active interest in political life, and his views were republican. When in March, 1848, revolutions agitated the continental capitals, Petöfy was, on the 15th of March, at the head of those inhabitants of Pest, who *de facto* abolished the censorship by printing at Landerer's press some patriotic stanzas by Petöfy, and their own petition to the home-office; after which they went to Buda, where the home-office acceded to their requests.

Petöfy deemed the concessions insufficient, which the Diet, then assembled at Pressburg, wished to be granted. He exhibited, as a party sign, a red feather, and began to agitate for a Republic. But the men, who in those critical days of transition, were called upon by the public trust to direct affairs, Klauzál, Nyáry, and Pulsky—immediately brought forward this question in a public meeting, and the Republicans remained in an insignificant minority. Petöfy was averse to call forth dissensions, and henceforth kept silent on this subject. But the views he had expressed in March, shut him out from a career in the Diet. He was not elected deputy, in spite of the sympathy the poet found with lord and peasant. Subsequently he entered the army; but Bem was the only one of the Generals with whom he always remained on good terms. He accompanied him on his various adventurous expeditions against the Wallach levy, against Puchner, and against the Russians. In more than one combat, Petöfy highly distinguished himself. But when he was not on horseback, sword in hand, he composed songs, breathing freedom and victory, in which he exalted Bem, his favourite hero, the only one who indulged in his antipathy to cravats. Mészáros, the Minister of War, a man of most sincere kindheartedness and good-humour, yet had no forbearance with the neglect of the prescribed military dress. He put Petöfy under arrest for his

positive refusal to wear a cravat. The poet revenged himself by bitter epigrams, and left the Hungarian army. But he entered it again in Transylvania, and served under Bem, who was very fond of him. Since the last unfortunate battles, no one has heard of him. It is unknown whether he fell in battle—whether he had been doomed to the fate of those wounded "Honvéds," who, remaining in Transylvania, were thrown by the Wallachs into the salt-mines, or whether he is wandering about in disguise until some occasion may enable him to share the detention of his friends in Turkey, or to join those of his countrymen, fortunate enough to have touched the hospitable shore of England.

To this land likewise all my thoughts were turned, as I had received tidings that my husband had safely arrived there. When constrained by circumstances to passive resignation, I wanted to prepare means of active movement at least for the future. I therefore wrote a circumstantial account of my position and that of my children to my parents who resided in Vienna, and requested them to get a passport for us in the course of two or three months; as after the birth of my child I wanted to follow my husband. As the course of the mail was stopped, it was impossible to send the letter by this means. I resolved to send my maid, an Austrian girl, back to her native country, and intrusted to her the lines for my relatives. I did not seal or even fold up the letter. The young person, afraid of robbery on her road, sewed the letter as well as her money, into her dress.

Several days after her departure I got some illegible lines, scribbled with a pencil. With difficulty I succeeded in making out, that these came from my poor maid, and informed me of her adventures.

When she arrived at Balassa-Gyarmath, the market-town close to our former residence, she was desired to show her passport. The functionary appointed for the examination of such papers refused to sign it: he had recognised the girl as having been in our service, for he had himself frequently been in our house in former days. The young person was questioned and cross-questioned, not only about what she knew of my husband, but likewise about our poor little ones and myself. Then her examination was put off to the subsequent morning, and she was freely left to sleep in her room at the inn. The next morning, however, she was summoned again, and given up to the jailor of the prison, who undressed her and unstitched her clothes. In her gown he found the letter and some money, which he delivered up to the authorities. They imprisoned the poor girl in a room, from which she had found means to slip the note which related her woes.

I felt considerably puzzled what course to pursue. If I appealed

to the Austrian authorities, my place of refuge was easily traced, and if the country where I was staying should likewise happen to be occupied by the enemy, I should no longer have any chance of joining my husband. But I could not leave the poor girl, without an attempt for her rescue. I wrote therefore to persons, whom I knew to be influential,—but I got no answer.

Three weeks had passed, when my maid returned. She owed her release from the fortress of Buda, where she had last been confined, mainly to the kind interference of an Austrian gentleman, who by chance found out her situation, and soon became perfectly aware of her harmlessness, which was also acknowledged after her final examination. In fact, it is difficult to understand under what pretext she was detained so long, as the contents of the letters found upon her were declared perfectly inoffensive, and without the least political import. Of course I inquired about every particular she had undergone. What most deeply affected me, was the account she gave of Count Louis Batthyányi, whom she had met in the corridor adjacent to her cell. She had seen him but a few months before at Soprony, but his countenance was so much altered, that she never would have recognised him, had he not addressed her. How could this be otherwise! Louis Batthyányi's haughty brow and eagle eye to grow furrowed and dim within the walls of a dungeon. His lofty mind and aristocratic reserve to be exposed to the searching inquiries of inferiors, accustomed to deal with vulgar minds! Count Batthyányi, the noble descendant of the Palatines, the stern leader of his nation, the proud champion of royalty,—to be imprisoned in his very act of public mediation,—and dragged from court martial to court martial. What must he have felt! What must he have suffered!

During this period, in the month of March, Hurban again troubled our neighbourhood with his hordes, who became so notorious for their excesses, that Austrian officers themselves disowned these brethren in arms. Wherever they approached, every article of value was carefully packed up, and conveyed as far as possible out of their reach. We only kept the most indispensable necessaries at home, and conveyed everything else we had to remote spots. Even in the Sclavonic countries the people grew so exasperated, that it was not difficult to raise a levy against the ringleader and his followers. No soldiers of the regular army could be spared for this purpose; the national guards therefore had alone to support the levy.

I saw several of the peasant-heroes excited by wine and brandy, which they had tasted in honour of their imperturbable courage, brandishing their hay-forks, and looking down with triumphant winks on their howling children, and crying wives. These cer-

tainly forgot every blow of love,[1] and of anger, in their dread not to see their sires and husbands any more.

The anxiety of the wives was not doomed to hard trial: the campaign did not last long. Hurban's gang scampered off at the very first show of a soldier-like resistance, and those of the poor wretches, who had less agility, gave themselves willingly up as an easy price to the conquerors.

One of the national guards of Röcze, a Sclavonic borough, in the county of Gömör, by his martial countenance made such an impression on the beaten men of Hurban, that six of them delivered their arms to him, and declared themselves his prisoners. The conqueror desired them to retain their arms, and carry them themselves, as six muskets would incommode him: but he commanded them to march in front under his eye, and threatened to shoot them all, if one attempted to escape. They walked on submissively. After a while, the bold citizen of Röcze was fortunate enough to capture likewise a drummer, whom he ordered to drum. On this well-known sound, five more of the distressed band appeared, and also surrendered. Thus, preceded by a drummer and eleven prisoners, the national guardsman triumphantly returned home. But when in Röcze the arms of the valiant Hurbanists were examined, it was found that the muskets could not have answered their aim, because they loaded the cartridges in their muskets with the wrong side upwards. Hurban, himself no soldier, had forgotten to drill them as to the loading of their muskets. In the counties of Szepes and Abaúj, to which these defeated *Braves* fled, many of the inhabitants yet experienced the miseries of their pillaging. They at last, in part went home, in part retired with their booty to Galicia.

Hurban himself had decamped on the eve of the Hungarians' approach; but he left to his men a pompous proclamation, in which he exhorted them to courageous resistance and valiant feats, and promised to get reinforcements, and then to appear again. He escaped narrowly on his white horse, which he always used to ride; probably in honour of his patron Svatopluk, the king of the Marahans (Moravians), whose dominion in the second half of the ninth century extended to the Danube. This king was beaten, and driven over the Carpathian mountains, by Arpád, the first Duke of the Hungarians. The popular legend says: Arpád sent a white horse, with red caparison, to Svatopluk, whom he summoned to sell him in exchange for the horse as much pasture-ground as the horses of the Hungarians required for food, and as much water as they required for drink.

[1] The Sclavonic peasant's wife does not believe herself beloved by her husband, until he has evinced his affection by vigorous blows freely bestowed upon her.

Svatopluk sent back to Arpád a bundle of grass of the heath of Alpár, and a bottle of water of the Danube, and kept the horse. Arpád accepted the grass and the water, according to the oriental conception, as tributes of homage. He took possession of the country, and drove away Svatopluk, who had not meant his bargain to be interpreted in this manner.

Thus Hungary was sold by the King of the Moravians, for a white horse.

Svatopluk consoled himself in his flight with the thought, that at least the white horse had been saved, if the country was lost.

This white horse always remains an object of raillery for the Hungarian peasant to banter the Sclavonians with.

Not long after the country had been rid of Hurban, twelve national-guardsmen of the county of Gömör, suddenly appeared on the 14th of March at noon, on the market-place of the patriotic town of Losoncz; which, with the whole county of Nógrad was still subjected to Austrian sway. Austrian soldiers still were in the villages around. The leader of the bold little Hungarian troop ascended the steeple of the tower, and threw down the black and yellow standard which had been raised there. The second act was to arrest the first magistrate of the town, who had been appointed by the Austrians, and to send him to Miskolcz, together with some carriages full of boots, which had been ordered for the Imperial soldiers. At first, the inhabitants of Losoncz witnessed, with perplexed astonishment, the feats of the audacious young men; but as it was the eve of the anniversary, which recalled to memory the first movements of 1848 in Pest, the streets of Losoncz were enlivened by the sound of gay music, and the light of festive torches. On the morrow, similar demonstrations were hazarded in Balassa-Gyarmath, before the county-house. The Austrian officers in Nógrád, and the Imperial Commissary, Baron Majthényi, were exasperated at these occurrences. Losoncz was to be punished. Several companies of infantry, and a squadron of lancers, with one rocket-battery, were ordered to march to that place. Majthényi, with several other gentlemen, undertook to direct the whole expedition; they however did not venture to the town itself, but, with cautious prudence, went to a country-seat, about four English miles distant from Losoncz. The commander of the Austrian garrison of Neusohl was likewise ordered to send reinforcements.

Two days before, the Hungarian Major Beniczky had come to Gömör, with a very small body of troops to complete his battalion, and assist the neighbourhood. In Rimaszombath he got tidings of what threatened Losoncz, by some persons who fled from their abodes. Beniczky did not linger.

The second of April was darkened by showers of snow. The

Hungarians consisted of seven hundred foot soldiers—most of them ill-equipped recruits, with two six-pounder cannons, and thirty-two hussars, who had strayed from different regiments, and were now employed to cover the guns. However, they set out and halted on a height, about an hour's distance from Losoncz. Here they were met by several citizens, who related, that besides the Austrian corps which had come from Balassa-Gyarmath, reinforcements from Neusohl had arrived. The whole number of hostile troops now occupying the town, were three thousand infantry and one division of cavalry, with a rocket-battery. This certainly was a force too disproportionate to be attacked by so few soldiers as Beniczky had at his disposal. In consequence, he addressed his hussars. "Heroes! we are to meet, not only the enemies, whom we expected to find in Losoncz, but many more of them. Their number is far superior to ours—are you willing to attack?" "How many are they? in what proportion are we to fight them?" exclaimed an old hussar. "Four or five to one," replied the leader. "Well," said the common hero,[1] "if there are not ten to one, we spurn them!" So they advanced.

In the town, at nine o'clock in the morning, the troops from Balassa-Gyarmath had arrived. The cavalry had been quartered in the suburb, and in the part of the town adjacent to the road on which they came; the infantry proceeded to the market-place, where most of the men were accommodated in the Casino (club-house), and in a hotel adjoining it. About eleven, came the detachment from Neusohl, commanded by a major, who was a Hungarian born, and now served against his country. Officers and privates were half frozen and wet through by the rough weather. The officers hastened to change their dress, the privates to the boiling meat. Not aware of the enemy, they neglected to set regular out-posts: a few sentinels only were placed around the town.

But the clock had not struck twelve, when three Hungarian hussars appeared at full gallop. They ranged themselves in the midst of the market-place, looked proudly around, and seemed to seek the Austrians they had not yet encountered. A shower of balls was not slow to greet them from the windows of the hotel. One of these too rash warriors was struck; but in this moment the two remaining hussars were joined by their twenty-nine comrades, who had stealthily brought up the two cannons, which were directly pointed and discharged against the hotel and the Casino. In the meanwhile, the captain of the lancers had assembled his soldiers, and attacked the two cannons; a well-aimed shot however hit his horse, he fell; and falling, cried out: "Lancers, retreat!" The disconcerted men fled in

[1] The Hungarian regiments, when apostrophized by their commanders, are always addressed as,—"Vitéz" (heroes), even in the Austrian army. Every private soldier is a "Köz vitéz" (private hero).

confusion. The well-directed fire of the two cannons compelled the troops in the Casino and in the hotel to surrender. The resistance of the enemy was broken. The other soldiers, who were dispersed in the different quarters, had no time to concentrate. Benicsky had got such precise notices of the measures taken by the Austrians, that he could without difficulty direct his men to the main points, and surprise the leaders of the enemy before they even were aware of the real danger. One of their superior officers was surprised while shaving, escaped half apparelled into the streets, and ran on and on without recovering himself. He left behind his equipage, luggage, and money. His subordinates followed his example, no less so Baron Majéthnyi and his companions, who after having hidden themselves two days and two nights, resorted to the head-quarters of General Ramberg in Balassa-Gyarmath, twenty-six miles from Losoncz.

The result of the little expedition was brilliant. The small Hungarian troop, altogether no more than about seven hundred and fifty men—had made two hundred and sixty prisoners, and dispersed an enemy four times their superior. So great had been the vigour of the attack, that the vanquished saved only their persons, and left considerable booty. The military cash, the music-band, all the luggage, and ammunition, the horses of the officers and lancers, were taken by the Hungarians, of whom no more than three had fallen.

Amongst the prisoners were several officers, at their head the Major, a Hungarian born. His arrest was characteristic. He was just at dinner with some other persons: the conversation turned upon the "Guerillas," whom Szemere, as Hungarian Commissary, was organizing most energetically at this period. The Major inquired contemptuously about their bold undertakings, and in particular about those of them, who a few days previously had been seen in the neighbourhood, and said: "Certainly it would be a good job, if these fellows were to hazard a surprise upon Losoncz; this," as he expressed himself, "would occasion a capital hare-hunting." But these very words were answered by the cries of alarm. The Major exclaimed: "No doubt, here they are!" and precipitately hurried to the window. An armed man came up the street. "Why!" said the Major, addressing the persons who were in the room, "that fellow below is dressed just like a Honvéd!" "He *is* a Honvéd," replied one of those present; "and behind him comes a second, third, fourth, and fifth." The Major did not seem at his ease; he ordered the door of the house to be shut. But the servant who went to perform the order met on the threshold a lieutenant of the Honvéds with three men, who inquired for the officer quartered in the house. One of the people below cried out with raised voice: "No officer is quartered here!" but pointed to the first floor. In a few moments the sword

and the pocket-book of the Major were in the hands of the Honvéd officer, who examined the contents of the latter; and when amongst other papers he found a note for a thousand florins, he returned these to his astonished prisoner with the words: "Major, my duty is to take charge of your papers, but this does not belong to them."

The Major was conveyed this same day with the other prisoners to Rimaszombath, and was quartered in one of the best houses of this little town. He was visited by several of his former acquaintances and by superior county officers. One of these, when he saw the obvious embarrassment of the prisoner, who had served against his countrymen, kindly assured him, that he had nothing to fear from the Hungarian Government, whose system in regard to the treatment of prisoners of war was not only humane, but generous. One of the gentlemen likewise said, speaking to the detained officer: "You might still make up for your wrongs against your fatherland, if you henceforward defend its cause." "No, no,"—objected the prisoner,—"I am not worthy of this; a Hungarian born, I fought against my country. This can never be pardoned to me."

At a subsequent period the Austrians asserted, and possibly believed, that the bold attack of Beniczky had been preconcerted with the citizens of Losoncz, whom they accused of having hidden in the cellars the hussars, who had so suddenly appeared in the market-place,—and the report was, that the enemy had threatened the town with destruction, whenever he should return. If the law ever should and could punish feelings and thoughts, which were not followed by deeds,[1] then this Austrian decree might have been justified by jurisprudence, as it cannot be denied that many of the inhabitants of Losoncz sympathized with their patriotic brethren. But if they were joy-stricken, when the Austrians were panic-stricken, I do not think it the less true, that the former were fully as surprised as the latter. The old Austrian captain no doubt was right, who said, when one of his fellow-officers had declaimed violently against the sympathy with which the hussars had been greeted in Losoncz: "Is it not natural for Hungarians to sympathize with Hungarians? How can *we* expect sympathy? our lot is the common lot of invaders."

[1] The destruction of the town of Losoncz by the Russians, had no relation to the above-described event. When the Russians, in August, occupied the town, several officers, seated at the table in the hotel, memorable by the attack of the 2d of April were taken by surprise by Guerillas, who summoned them to surrender. This the officers refused; a contest ensued, in which the Russians were killed. The consequences of this occurrences were dreadful for the poor citizens: their houses were plundered and burnt down, and many lives were lost in the general devastation of the town.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE EPOCH OF THE HUNGARIAN VICTORIES.

When, in the first period of the war with the Austrians, the Hungarian armies had retired to the Tisza and the Maros, strong Hungarian garrisons had remained in the fortresses of Leopoldstadt, Komárom, Esseg, and Pétervárad (Peterwardein). But in Leopoldstadt, the commander of the fortress, Colonel Ordódy, was a man of weak character. Notwithstanding the opposition of the commander of the troops, Colonel Mednyánszky, and of the commander of the artillery, Major Gruber,—Ordódy, after the third bombarding, gave up the fortress unconditionally. Some months later, when the Russian aid was approaching, Ordódy was sentenced by Austrian court-martial to eighteen years' imprisonment, and the prisoners of war, Mednyánszky and Gruber, were hanged. In Esseg too, the officers of the garrison succeeded in getting away the determined and brave Count Cassimir Batthyányi. When he had departed, Colonel Földváry surrendered the fortress to the Austrian Field-Marshal Lieutenant Nugent. Komárom and Pétervárad were besieged.

At the end of March, when the junction of the two Hungarian armies had been achieved, and Bem had driven the Russians out of Transylvania, the government of Debreczen thought the moment was come to take the offensive. Perczel was sent with a corps to the relief of Pétervárad. Bem's task it was, to subdue the Serbs in the Banat, and shield Transylvania against every invasion. Görgey was to lead the main army to Pest and Komárom, while smaller corps beleaguered Arad and Temesvár.

Perczel succeeded brilliantly in his expedition. After some successful engagements in the neighbourhood of Szöreg, he went against St. Tamás, a fortress deemed impregnable, which the year before had so long resisted the Hungarian attacks. Colonel Földváry however, more valiant or more trustworthy than his brother, the commander of Esseg, now carried St. Tamás by the bayonet, and destroyed its fortifications. The Serbs then were attacked in the Roman intrenchments, and were soon driven out. Pétervárad was relieved, and the Bátska cleared. Only Titel, and seven places in the district of the Csaikists, protected by marshes, still held out under the Serb Knicsanin. General Suplikatz, the Serbian Woiwod, had died suddenly. General Theodorovich, who was to replace him, retreated; the Serbs did not trust him. As Perczel, after the relief of Pétervárad, turned anew against the Serbs, these accepted the

battle, headed by Lieutenant-Colonel Puffer, brother-in-law of Colonel Mayerhoffer, not far from Tomasovatz, and were completely routed.

At the same time a body of the Transylvanian army made its way by the valley of the Maros to the Banat. Weisskirchen and Pancsora hoisted the Hungarian tri-colour. With these columns likewise returned the Germans and Hungarians, who during the preceding year had in these parts been driven from their hearths. Many of them revenged themselves upon the Serbs, who had plundered them, had taken possession of their fields and had murdered their wives and children. In the Bácska, Perczel could not prevent reprisals, the less so as in several places the Serbs treacherously surprised the Honvéds during their sleep, and more than once murdered them in their abodes. Several Servian villages were ravaged in this period.

The victories in the Lower country were however surpassed by the successful battles, in which the main army under Görgey completely defeated the united armies of Windischgrätz, Schlick, and Jellachich.

On the third of April, Jellachich was beaten at Tapio-Bicske by Damianics; on the fourth, the Generals of Windischgrätz experienced the same fate at Isaszeg, where the Austrian batteries were taken by storm. This attack was directed by Damianics and Klapka. On the fifth the Hungarians entered Gödöllo, a borough about eighteen miles from Pest. The Austrians had so hastily retreated from this place, that Kossuth occupied one night the bed which Windischgrätz had left in the morning of the same day.

Kossuth's presence in the headquarters of Görgey raised the troops to enthusiasm. Even Görgey seemed to partake of this feeling. When Kossuth, on the morning subsequent to his arrival in Gödöllo, stepped out of his room, he found Görgey sleeping on the threshold, where he obviously had passed the night. Kossuth, highly astonished, inquired as to the cause? Görgey answered: "Is it not natural that the President of Hungary should be guarded by his most faithful general?"

Kossuth issued a proclamation, in which he asserted that Bishop Horváth should soon bless the Hungarian army on the Rákos. This was accepted as a prophecy; the bravery of the Hungarians appeared irresistible. Damianich, Klapka, Leiningen, Nagy, Sándor Knezich, and Colonel Földváry, the second brother of the gallant conqueror of St. Tamás, were the heroes of the day. Görgey was reproached with not sufficiently availing himself of his victories.

Aulich now was left behind to threaten Pest, whilst Görgey continued his march towards Komárom, after he had persuaded Kossuth to return to Debreczen.

The 10th of April the Austrian General Göcz was defeated by Görgey at Vácz, where Leiningen highly distinguished themself. Göcz himself fell in the action. The Hungarian commander buried the Austrian General with all the military honours. The thunder of the cannons discharged over his grave was heard in Pest. They proclaimed to the inhabitants, that the Austrians could no longer hold the capital, which Aulich approached in brilliant cavalry engagements: Windischgrätz was recalled, and Field-Marshal-Lieutenant Welden took the command. He left Pest in the night of the 18th of April, and hastened on the south bank of the Danube towards Komárom, to outstrip Görgey, who marched on the north side. General Henzi was left in Buda as forlorn hope. But before Welden could arrive, the Austrian General Wolgemuth was decidedly beaten on the 19th at Nagy Sarló, by the combined attack of Damianics and Klapka. On the 26th, the army of Welden himself was put to flight under the walls of Komárom, where Knezich decided the victory by crossing the Danube under the guns of the Austrians, who hastened in wild confusion towards Pressburg. The whole country greeted these feats with joyful acclamations. The proud Austrian army had been beaten six times in the course of three weeks. Tidings of victory thronged from all sides. The reactionaries in Vienna trembled. But Görgey stopt half-way. Instead of pursuing his success with the mass of his army, leaving for the siege of Bude the smallest adequate force, he sent only ten thousand men after the enemy, lingered at Komárom for a whole week, and then turned back with thirty thousand soldiers to sit down before the fortress of Buda.

Was it treachery? Was it irresolution? I cannot decide; at any rate nothing but his tarrying allowed time for the Austrians to be joined by the Russians. It seems that Görgey was then averse to cut off the possibility of negotiating with Austria. Perhaps likewise he envied Kossuth the most elevated position, which he himself disdained to accept from the hands of the man, whom his unbounded ambition and the bitterness of his heart taught him to hate.

Kossuth had freely declared to Görgey, that whatever might be his ambitious aim, he (Kossuth) would exert all his powers to get it for him. But Görgey viewed with hatred all superiority whatever, and whilst the whole country awoke to the ecstacy of triumph, he nursed in his corps of officers the disdainful antipathy, which is so easy to excite in soldiers against civilians. The foundation of the ensuing misfortunes of the country was now laid. Discord was sown with design.

Amongst the contending passions of proscription and war, which

raged over hill and dale, and thus could not fail to reach even our peaceful abode, my youngest boy was born, surrounded by strangers, far from his father, who would have welcomed him with the blessing of joy!

But the strangers smiled on the new citizen with feelings of anxious love for the innocent and helpless. They nursed my babe and myself with a care, which can only be conceived by those tender natures, to whom that chilling selfishness is unknown, which alone renders human mind insensible to the joy and wo, to the right and wrong of their fellow-creatures. Soothed by such kindness, I had then no care. Restless care is almost always the child of artificial want. Guiltless misfortune, and unhesitating faith, gave birth to energy, whose penetrating eye sickly care cannot stand.

My excellent friends tried to amuse me. They easily achieved it, by recurring to games at cards with a jolly Franciscan friar, who used to visit us daily. This pastime was not a fatiguing excitement of with us, but simply an amusement, which the friar relished in so funny a way, that he raised an unceasing laugh.

Our Franciscan was the healthful picture of ample enjoyment of every kind of food—solid and fluid—wine and spirits excepted. He was a specimen of perfect contentment. His delight was to share, with whomsoever he chanced to meet, all he had—his slender purse, as well as his merry joviality. Most conscientious in the observance of his clerically proscribed duties, he strictly fulfilled them; but when he had done with these, he gave himself up to enjoy everything he was allowed and possibly could get. Lent was a hard quarantine for him, which he stood heroically, sustaining himself, during his abstinence from meat, with large supplies of strong coffee, of which he one day, on a festive occasion, took no less than thirty cups.

He travelled about a good deal in the neighbourhood, was liked everywhere, and deemed indispensable at all parties. With politics he no more meddled, than they meddled with him, but gladly attended every feast and play, connected or unconnected with political meetings. Report—which certainly not seldom calumniated—related of our friar, that when once he was overturned with his carriage, a pack of cards fell from his cowl.

In former days he had visited Vienna, but never spoke of his adventures on this tour. The cause of this silence, uncommon with him, was, that he had met with all kinds of difficulties, which already had occasioned more jest than even his good humour cared for. When he first stepped into the capital of Austria, he could not find his way in it. Perfectly unacquainted with the German language, he addressed every passenger in Hungarian; and forgetful that this

medium, so current in his own neighbourhood, would not pass in Vienna, he wondered that nobody understood him. After having wandered and tried in every direction, he was so worn out in body and mind, that he got quite distracted. At last, an ingenious thought lighted in from the depth of his despair. This thought led him to the very first monastery which he could find; there he rested, and questioned the hospitable priests in Latin. Never had he felt more happy and proud at his own and his brethren's learned accomplishments. This, of course, is but one episode of the memorable journey of our stout hero.

Easter Tuesday came, and with it manifest anxiety to our monk. How he dreaded this day! he hardly ventured out of his room; but service he must perform: he must go to church! Easter Tuesday was the day of retribution to him. In former times, he had used too freely the Hungarian privilege of Easter Monday, when the popular custom allows to every male person, whatever be his age or station, to pour water over every female he meets. But on Tuesday, the females have the right to return this polite attention.[1] Our friar was by no means of the opinion of the girls, who consider it a distinction to be watered like buds of roses, and who treat the lads, who thus accost them, with a breakfast of wine in the Hungarian, and of brandy in the Sclavic, parts of the country. Our friar, on Easter Monday, had spoiled more than one bonnet, and had wetted numerous tresses! This the females of the whole village never could forget: they had sworn a pouring revenge. The monk long knew how to avoid it, by gliding so slily to church, that no one could notice his escape. In this way he saved himself for a couple of years. But his by-ways were discovered, and an ambush laid, from whence he was greeted with a plashing rain. Since this day of judgment, Easter Tuesday's peace has departed from our friar, who never is more submissively amiable with the ladies, than the week preceding this memorial so awful to him.

It was a sweet impression of festive peace, when the peasant girls, with their wide muslin aprons, which wholly cover their dark petticoats,—their red corslets, their long tresses interwoven with gaudy ribands, and their purple boots,—walked to church, accompanied and followed by the elders and the young lads. The married women are inseparable from their stately national caps, the old men from their "bundas," embroidered more or less richly, according to the

[1] The origin of this Hungarian custom is unknown to me; but in India we find something similar. During the days of the spring-festival "Huli," everybody met with, may be sprinkled with red dust and perfumes. May not perhaps the custom in Hungary bear reference to some tradition which the Hungarians derived from the East?

earnings of the owner. The lads do not keep so strictly to one and the same costume; they sometimes alternate their white hanging sleeves and loose jackets, with nicely fitting cloth apparel; but the mustachios and spurs scarcely fail to impress the national stamp on the appearance of the young Hungarian.

Not much time, however, was granted to the contemplation of such objects. Once more Austrian forces had invaded the neighbourhood where we then were staying. General Benedek had occupied Rozsnyó (Rosenau), a town in the county of Gömör. One of his first measures was to summon the Catholic and Protestant clergy there, the civil authorities, and the inhabitants of the town, to a meeting. All were assembled, when the General entered the room. The Catholic Bishop of Rozsnyó occupied, of course, the seat of honour at the head of the table. The General pushed him aside most uncourteously, covered himself with his hat, and addressed the congregation with a speech, in which he declared, that the whole Hungarian revolution was but a sedition of the Protestants, supported by lack of due regard for all authority. "Therefore," he said, "especially the Protestant clergymen and schoolmasters should be put under the surveillance of the police." To enforce, by example, his sermon on the exercise of due respect, he carried away, as hostages, fifteen of the most respected citizens. This General was a Protestant and a Hungarian himself. But an army, which, like that of Austria, is even in civil concerns not subject to the general laws of the country, forms a separate State within the State; and, indeed, in that crisis it was wielding the whole executive power. The *esprit de corps* of such an army easily forgets creed and fatherland in the intoxication of prætorian wantonness.

General Vogel, who likewise in April disquieted the upper districts of the country, acted with as little humanity and forbearance as Benedek. No attempt was made to conciliate either the feelings of the people at large, or even of those individuals who were less thoroughly imbibed with patriotism than the great bulk of the nation.

General Vogel dragged along with him the magistrate of Locse (Leutschau), and several of the wealthiest inhabitants of other towns, without any discrimination of their political opinions. He permitted his soldiers to ill-treat and vex these harmless men, whom he at length released on ransom, only after he had got the tidings of the signal triumphs of the Hungarians. In consequence of these, he turned to Liptó, and left Hungary in speed. Benedek had retired with the same haste into Moravia.

As I had nothing more to fear on my road, I returned, in the first days of May, to my estate, freed from the Austrians by their retreat.

I found striking changes on my return. The peacefully conser-

vative spirit of "veneration for property" had been expelled. This guardian angel of right had fled before the intruders; in whose judgment those men and their families, whose principles they intended to blot out with blood, had no title to life, much less to property. But no rightful claim can be overthrown without sapping the sentiments of right itself by the confusion of old thought and banishment of old associations; after which, wilfulness and anarchy only too naturally follow.

On our estate a *béres*[1] was asked by an Austrian soldier, "to whom the property belonged." The Hungarian servant, in reply, gave our name, but an officer standing by contradicted him, saying, that the estate belonged to the government. The poor *béres*, utterly at a loss to take in the real way of proceeding, fancied that the estate had been sold to some other owner. In consequence, the next time the same question was put, he mentioned as the owner, a certain lord, whose name bears great resemblance to the Hungarian word for "government." So little could the poor man seize the notion, that the right of property could possibly be annihilated by those called upon to rule.

Other people, however, in different parts of the country, more easily got rid of the *prestige* of laws and law-customs, which the Hungarians in general most steadily revere. As far as I saw, peasants intruded on the possessions of their former lords, only when instigated by persons of a higher class, who willingly acted as tools of the enemy.

I found my castle in cellar-like discomfort. Its very atmosphere evinced that the servants had not believed in the possibility of our return. I seemed to myself as one risen from the dead, whose funeral had already been celebrated, with due regrets towards the departed and condolences towards the successors. My return was certainly greeted with feelings of this strange nature. I soon found out that many trifling house and kitchen utensils had been taken away. When I inquired after any article the answer always was: "the soldiers have taken it." But this was obviously untrue, as the Austrian soldiers certainly did not trouble themselves with loads of such commodities, but rather took watches, silver, and jewels, as I witnessed myself in one of the places where I was on my flight.

I was astonished to see, that servants, whom before I always had found honest and faithful, had so quickly forgotten their duty. The fact was: the people had conceived the notion, that what formerly would have been dishonesty towards their master and mistress, was perfectly excusable as against the government, which seized the

[1] A "Béres" is a labourer engaged for the whole year to work on the estate.

property entrusted to them. Of this government they certainly could have no other conception, but that it was the rule of mere arbitrary violence, as its representatives—the officers and commissaries—showed no reverence for any previous rights. It was not strange, therefore, that Communistical notions were thus speedily spread. Certainly example in this respect acquires far more disciples, than all the volumes of Proudhon and Pierre Leroux. My servants thought, that if my furniture was at any rate to be plundered, it was just that they should take it rather than the soldiers, as a *souvenir* of their mistress. When I returned unexpectedly, they were ashamed to confess that they had proved no better than the Austrians, and thought it more comfortable to retain what they had already used for several months.

Still more painfully than by these discoveries, was I struck by the behaviour of those who had yielded up their moral independence to the Austrians. Such as had weakly obeyed the impulse of circumstances, sought, and in part found, excuses in the threats and acts of violence, which in more than one instance had been used; and perhaps we can point out peculiarities of the time and people, which still farther encouraged very dastardly behaviour. The general feeling was decidedly against the Austrians; no one even of those who had publicly frequented and courted them, advocated their cause. And certainly it was no fear of Hungarian terrorism which silenced them now. There is indeed one prominent feature in the Hungarian character markedly anti-terroristical. That national peculiarity is expressed in the Hungarian by the accurate term of *Tŭblabiroság*—Squirearchy. Its definition is: the comfortable passive pride of feudal independence, allied to the active desire of influence. From this feeling springs the *camaraderie* with which one squire instinctively backs his equal, even when opposed in principles. This same instinct gives birth to the patronage generally exercised in favour of dependents, who, even when discerned to be unworthy, are by the squire preferred to individuals who do not belong "to his set."

To this Squirearchy, naturally, many petty passions may be traced. But on the other side it occasioned a kind of free-masonry all over the country, where all parties were more or less connected by real or contingent interests. Such relations, no doubt, were a guarantee against terrorism in mutual intercourse, even in times of revolution; in which *Hodie mihi, cras tibi*, cannot fail to impress every mind. In consequence of this easy tolerance, shameless inconsistencies were likewise of frequent occurrence.

One of the subaltern magistrates of our county was a most ludicrous specimen of this kind. Previous to the entrance of the Aus-

trians, he had not only maintained the patriotic injunctions of the Committee of Defence, but had attempted to interpret and to enforce them in a most fanatical manner. He pretended "that every one, of whatever age or occupation, must join the crusade against the enemy." He yielded to no remonstrance, no argument, even if it was proved, that the men whom he summoned to proceed to the battle-field were exempted from this duty by the decree of the government. Yet when the National Guards of Nograd were ordered to march, he got a certificate of illness for himself, and was seized by a fever, no doubt. I saw myself that he trembled, when the physician, after feeling his pulse, pronounced his indisposition so slight, that in a few days he would be fully able to join the army. But fortunately our magistrate caught cold again.

At the entrance of the Austrians, so ready was he for self-sacrifice, as to spare no trouble or zeal in publishing the proclamation of Windischgrätz. He convoked public meetings, and issued the Austrian manifestos with explanatory notes. Of these, one of most the eloquent was the following: "These orders are somewhat different from the injunctions I gave you several weeks ago. But you must strictly comply with the present demands, or I shall have you hanged. The government changed, the county changed, I changed too!"

Subsequently he went to Debreczen and cringed there for an office. But as his way of dealing was known, he was only derided and considered too great a fool to be accused as a traitor.

In the latter half of April, and in May, festive demonstrations in approval of the declaration of separation from Austria were celebrated in all parts of the country. The resolution which the Diet had passed on the 14th of April: "that the House of Hapsburg had forfeited the throne," was generally felt as a necessary consequence of the position, into which the now ruling party in Vienna had *forced* Hungary: for by Count Stadion's new constitution of the Austrian Empire, issued on the 4th March, 1849, in pursuance of the Revolutionary Rescript of October 3d, 1848, the Hungarian constitution and legal independence were destroyed. Everybody knew that the ministry of Batthyányi no less than the Diet, had sincerely sought every way of conciliation; that at the first entrance of Windischgrätz, it had even proved willing to repeal, with legal forms, the laws sworn to by the King in 1848. But at the same time, when it grew obvious even to the most zealous partisan of the Royal house, that not only the reform of 1848, but the ancient constitutional right of Hungary was attacked by a centralizing Government —then, only then the struggle became a war "for independent life or glorious death!" The declaration of the 14th of April was

therefore in fact, nothing more than the expression of what every one in Hungary had felt to be "unavoidable," when not only the proposition of the Diet of the 4th of January for a "conditional submission" was answered by Windischgrätz with "no treaty with rebels," and by the imprisonment of Count Batthyányi; but when the Austrian ministry tried to force upon Hungary a theoretic scheme of centralization and absolutism, under constitutional forms, abolishing the municipal institutions, and the self-government of the counties.

There were persons who thought it would have been wiser not to issue the declaration from Debreczen, but to date it from Pest, only after the Austrians should have been utterly driven from the soil of Hungary. Nevertheless, with the great majority of the nation it was only a question as to the proper time in which such a declaration should be published. The Austrians themselves proved by their devastations, that they considered Hungary a foreign country.

Kossuth's policy in the measure was, to pledge all the important men of Hungary to the nation, as resolved no further to try to make terms with Austria,—without which the people might fear to be sold by their leaders. From good authority, I know that all the Hungarian Generals agreed to the measure of the 14th of April, when Kossuth proposed it in Hatvan, previous to the battle of Gödöllö. Görgey was present at this conference. Subsequently it was said, that Görgey had expressed himself averse to the declaration after it had been sanctioned by the Diet; but certain it is, that if this had been the cause of his hatred against Kossuth,—as is stated by some Austrian papers,—he would not in May, as Minister of War, have taken the oath that he would "sacredly uphold the decrees of the Diet, and maintain the resolution of the 14th of April."

A festivity, in acknowledgment of this declaration, was likewise to be celebrated in Losoncz. The aim was here, as everywhere, to explain to the people what events had compelled their representatives to this weighty decision. Most of the patriots loved their country *too* well not to be aware of its wounds and of its dangers. Therefore the demonstration was wished by the greater number, to be as solemnly simple as would be adequate. But many of the nobility of the county of Nógrád were peculiarly fond of show, and ostentatiously made up the festivity according to their taste. This *found* but little sympathy, as the roar of cannons still proclaimed the sacrifices falling under the walls of Buda, defended by General Henzi, who, though a traitor to the Hungarians, now at least acted as a hero sacrificed by the Austrians.

Henzi had been called by Mészáros, the Minister of War, from Cracow to Hungary, where he was entrusted with the command of the fortress of Pétervárad. But at the invasion of Jellachich, it was noticed that the commander of Pétervárad kept up secret intelligence

with the Serbs of Karlowitz. He therefore was summoned in November to Pest to answer for his conduct. Kossuth called on Henzi to justify himself and declare his further intentions, even giving him the choice of leaving Hungary, if he pledged himself not to fight against it. Henzi, who though of Swiss parents in Austrian office, was himself born in Hungary, reiterated his attachment to the country of his birth, and requested to be sent to Szeged, to direct there the fortifications which had been projected at this period. Before the Committee of Defence had decided upon this matter, Windischgrätz approached Pest. The Hungarian government was transferred to Debreczen, and as it did not carry any hostages with it, and Henzi had not been a condemned prisoner, he was left at Pest, where he joined the Austrians. It seems that Windischgrätz reproached him with his equivocal behaviour, and that to prove his devotion to the Austrian cause, he accepted the dangerous post of commanding an indefensible fortress. After the departure of the Austrians, as soon as the attacks of the Hungarians began on Buda, he replied by bombarding Pest, from which side he received no provocation. This wanton destruction of the capital greatly embittered public feeling against him. Not relying in the offers and promises of Görgey, who proposed free departure for the garrison, if the fortress were given up, Henzi defended it to the very last man, and at length fell himself.

The 22d of May, precisely during the festive demonstration at Losoncz, the news spread that Buda had been taken by storm before a breach was opened. This tidings was received with ecstacy. No one had expected any other result from Hungarian bravery; nevertheless it made as overpowering an impression as if it had been unexpected. No enemy remained in the west of Hungary. The capital was free. The gallant Honvéds were extolled as unequalled heroes, and the whole merit of the memorable feat was assigned to them alone, not to Görgey, who was reported to have said, "that if he had been fully aware of what the bravery of the Honvéds could achieve, he could have taken the fortress much sooner than after a siege of seventeen days." Whether the Hungarian leader really said this, I do not know; but this is certain, that he refused the decoration for bravery, offered to him by the Hungarian Government, saying, that he did not merit it. By many persons this conduct was called "ostentatious modesty;" by others, it was brought into connexion with Görgey's aversion to act in concert with Kossuth and the other Hungarian leaders. It was said, that in order to intrigue against Kossuth, Görgey was inclined to cultivate two parties very different in their views, but both, more or less, ready to act against Kossuth. The first of these was the republican one, headed by Szemere. This party was not numerous, and had, as far

as I could observe, least real sympathies in the country. In Kossuth himself it found no sufficient support, and from the very beginning of the movements was rather averse to his tendencies. After the 14th of April, when Kossuth was elected Governor of Hungary, he appointed Szemere prime-minister, who, in his first ministerial speech, avowed his democratical as well as republican tendencies. Kossuth, however, and the other ministers, never expressed themselves for a republic. When pressed on this point by its partisans, Kossuth replied: "that to save the country and its Constitution was the first care, and the only task for the present, that upon the question as to the ultimate form of Government, the policy of Europe was to decide."

Another faction, which disliked Kossuth's policy, was designated as the peace-party.[1] It contained a few of those men who formerly had supported Batthyányi and his conciliating tendencies, but likewise others who had most strongly opposed the first Hungarian ministry, and had often advocated violent measures. They certainly were "Moderados Furiosos," and as little consistent in their politics, as these two terms which characterize them. They criticised Kossuth, but never proposed practical measures of different policy. To this party, which had its representatives in the Diet, but in fact had hardly any adherent out of doors, belonged most of the personal enemies of Kossuth.

I am far from being initiated enough in all the political manœuvring of this period, to venture a judgment upon any party. Thus much however is sure, and proved by all the events and their results,—that since the invasion of Jellachich, every patriot in Hungary, to whatever party he belonged, felt that he must defend the ancient rights of his fatherland; and as the Austrians arrested heralds of peace, and refused to treat for anything short of unconditional surrender, *conciliation proved impossible.* Every one followed as a matter of duty and necessity the torrent of the revolution, into which Hungary had been thrown by the Austrian policy. So it was, that whatever were the views and the personal sympathies, all joined in September in the defence of the country; unanimously voting the recruits, and the issue of paper-money. All acquiesced, no less in the armed resistance, which had become obviously necessary to maintain the constitution of the country; nor did any one oppose the declaration of the 14th of April, when it was first proposed and finally voted. But nevertheless, Kossuth had many personal enemies. The "peace party," though silent in the Diet, tried to undermine him in private conferences; and Görgey was the man,

[1] This faction was thus named, because it often expressed itself for conciliation with Austria. But no one of its members ever proposed a mode of realizing such a peace.

claimed by both coteries as theirs, though fully trusted by neither. Previous to the relief of Komárom, a report asserted, that Görgey had received a letter from Austria, with brilliant offers of fortune and position, if he would join the Imperial army. It was said that Görgey had refused, but—had listened. Afterwards, his signal defeats of the Austrians effaced considerably the impressions, which that rumour had made.

After the conquest of Bude, it was as if the whole population of the country had been released from prison. Trade and activity again thronged towards the capital. Troops moved in all directions, and were greeted everywhere with great enthusiasm. The people viewed its own sons with pride and wonder.

Through our neighbourhood moved a detachment of Honvéds, accompanied by several hussars. One of the gentlemen, who had gone from Szécsény to see them, observed, that in this body there were but few hussars. One of these heard the observation and proudly replied: "We always prove sufficient." This warrior, no doubt, belonged to the school of the old Hussar, who instructed a new recruit in fighting and taught him all kinds of cuts. The novitiate said: "But now I should likewise learn how to parry." "This is not necessary," exclaimed the veteran: "strike only, the German will parry; thou need'st but strike!"

In spite of the signal bravery of the Honvéds, which decided most of the battles, the hussars always remained the pride of the people: they ever were considered the type of the national heroism. In Jaszberény twelve of them were received by a deputation, accompanied by pretty peasant girls in festive apparel. One of the girls presented the hussar sergeant with a nosegay. He took it, and gallantly thanked her, with the assurance, that if the choice had been left to him, to get a hundred ducats from Windischgrätz, or this nosegay from her hand, he would have chosen the latter. "Between four eyes," he said, "I would, pretty girl, still more cordially thank you with a kiss; but in presence of the stately deputation this won't do."

After the re-entrance of the Hungarians at Pest, no one was greeted with so much enthusiasm as the first hussars who appeared in the capital. Covered with flowers, which showered from every window upon them, they accepted this homage with chivalrous dignity. But proud as they were, they readily acknowledged the wonderful feats of the Honvéds. At the storm of Bude, one of the hussars, who witnessed it, said to his comrade: "Now I see that the infantry may likewise be good for something." "Yes," replied the other, "for the first time in my life I almost wish to be myself a Baka."[1]

[1] The hussars always used to look down upon the soldiers of the infantry and to call them "Baka," which means a man who wears half-boots, not boots.

CHAPTER XIV.

FROM PEST TO DEBRECZEN.

For some months I could get no news from my beloved husband, as all regular intercourse with foreign nations was prevented by the Austrians. I made up my mind, therefore, to go to Pest, to attempt again to get the talisman for which my heart yearned—a passport, with which I might safely pass through the Austrian territory.

I entered the capital with anxious feelings: I dreaded to behold the buildings, which I had seen in growing prosperity—destroyed by the fiery balls of Bude. The impression, which I dreaded, proved less painfully striking, than I had anticipated. Only two or three of the rows of palace-like houses, that border the Danube, and especially the building where the representatives had held their sessions—had suffered in their outward appearance. Most of the damage had been inflicted in the inside, as the shells struck through the roofs. Of the obstinate resistance of Henzi, the shattered walls of the fortress of Bude bore witness.

All the papers, which had been forcibly silenced during the presence of the Austrians, now again expressed themselves loudly, when delivered from the jealous control. Many falsehoods were likewise spread by the loquacity which had so long been kept in. This certainly was not only wrong, but totally superfluous; as facts enough had really occurred, which clearly evinced, that nothing had been done by the Austrians to win the public feeling, which they imagined to be in their favour.

One of the stories current at this time was so generally repeated, and stated with such minute details, that I relate it; without vouching, however, for its perfect accuracy.

Mrs. Guyon—the wife of the general of this name—had, as several others of the ladies whose husbands were engaged in the Hungarian struggle, remained quietly in Pest during the sway of Windischgrätz, and had not experienced any molestation. But a short time before the Austrians were obliged to withdraw from Pest, Mrs. Guyon was summoned by the military court to subscribe a

document, with the intimation, that if she did not sign it, she would be detained. Its contents were: "I, Baroness Splényi, wife of the rebel Guyon, engage myself to be divorced from the said man." Mrs. Guyon, under this threat, gave her signature; but did not think herself bound to keep a pledge, to which she had been so compelled. She left Pest and joined her husband.

I believe this report to be correct; for since then, another lady, now in the same position as Mrs. Guyon was, can obtain no passport from the Austrian authorities to join her exiled husband; but is daily pressed by them to give her consent to be divorced from him, to whom she lawfully belongs; and is threatened, in case of refusal, with the confiscation of her property.

The wife of a deputy, who had accompanied the train, which carried the crown of St. Stephen to Szolnok when Windischgrätz occupied Pest—was called before the court on the charge that she had packed up the crown. This lady was in weak health, and daily expected the birth of her child. She pointed out her physical state, and asked, whether, in this condition, she could possibly have been the most adequate person chosen for a purpose of this kind. After thus vexing her, they at length accepted her plea.

Austrian officers had occupied the deserted abode of the wife of one of the leaders. The lady herself had never taken any active part in political concerns. She was beautiful; and a successful portrait of her ornamented her room. One of the superior officers pointed it out to his comrades, saying: "Consider it well, that she may be detained when you find her."

The Austrian General Serbelloni, however, who for a short time was in Pest, with noble humanity opposed such indignities. If more men of his stamp had adorned the Imperial ranks, fewer lives would have been sacrificed on the scaffold, and more hearts won for Austria. Even the bulletins of the Austrians were framed in a style to embitter the feelings. Many of them were most ludicrous, and fabricated only for export into foreign countries, where the geography of Hungary is little known, and the map is seldom consulted by the great number of readers. Thus the battle of Branyiszko was never mentioned: Klapka's victory at Tokay was converted into a defeat on the Hungarian side; which certainly did not explain, why Schlick, just after the victory, had hastily retreated twenty-five English miles to Boldogkö. At Kápolna, according to the bulletin, the Hungarians were totally routed and Debreczen was threatened. The decisive battle of Isaszeg was styled "a reconnoitring," the retreat to Komárom "a concentration of the army." Relative to the relief of Komàrom, it was even asserted: "that the Austrian General had succeeded *in forcing the Hungarian troops into the besieged*

fortress." And all these were *official* statements,—narratives, on the truth of which it was not permitted to doubt. With foreign countries the aim of the Austrian commanders was in part successful; the real facts were long prevented from finding their way over the Hungarian frontiers. It was only after the Austrians had been driven from Pest, that the veracity of their accounts was doubted. The language of the bulletins was as little dignified, and even as brutal, as the dealings of the majority of Austrian officers. The Hungarians were never styled otherwise, than "bands of robbers, rascally people, undisciplined vagabonds." Their commanders "rebel chiefs," their civil leaders, "ill-famed tools of Kossuth;" the Hungarian Diet, "the revolutionary conventicle." This, of course, as personal insult, was little heeded by patriots, who gladly offered up life, fortune, and position, for the freedom of their fatherland; but in respect to foreign countries, from which the Austrian policy had ever taken good care in its diplomacy to estrange Hungary as much as possible, this could not be viewed with indifference; so much the less, as the probability of a Russian intervention was already strongly debated. From Debreczen itself, the official notice had been issued to the county authorities, to prepare the people for Russian invasion. Notwithstanding, little credit was given to such an event as really to be expected. In the higher ranks, many founded their incredulity on the *moral* impossibility, as they thought it, that Austria should throw herself upon the protection of her most dangerous rival, and entreat his aid to recover a country, whose frontier touched upon territories in which he already exercised too decided an influence. Russia, who had long been known to agitate in the Danubian principality, by all means at the disposal of unscrupulous absolutism—by money, threats, and intrigues,—Russia, who already commanded the mouth of the Danube,—to be invited by Austria herself to beat down Hungary, her firmest stronghold against Northern ascendency and despotism,—this seemed incredible. Others trusted that the Hungarian leaders would still advance to Vienna, and there establish a peace, which, even if it imposed hard conditions on the dynasty, yet never could prove so fatal to the Empire, as for its sovereign to become a vassal to Russia. Besides, a general belief reigned amongst all classes, that France and England never would allow such an intervention, because—as I heard it maintained by men of the people, "if we have settled our own matters without foreign aid, why should a foreigner interfere with them? And if Russia comes to use violence, the other countries will forbid it." Nobody believed that France became at the same time "Republican and Cossack," and that the English aristocracy would allow the only sound aristocracy of the continent to be destroyed by Austrian bureaucratical

centralization. Nevertheless, the railing attacks of the Austrian papers, and speculation about a Russian intervention, which yet flitted in the uncertain twilight of doubt and hope, less excited the public interest at that time than retrospect of the behaviour and fate of those, who, in the first days of the patriotic struggle, had occupied prominent positions. Those who had forsaken their cause, were, on the whole, much less deplored or despised, according to their former merits, than hated. A conquered people hates, a victorious nation pities those, who have betrayed it.

This was the public feeling for Szentkirályi, once a celebrated deputy and influential leader of the liberal party of the county of Pest. He had been feared and popular for his sharp logic, with which he often cut the knot of intricate reasonings, in which his adversaries entangled themselves. No less had he been known for his habitual absence of mind. Once a friend came in the morning to see him. Szentkirályi requested him to wait but a moment, until he should have fetched his hat from the adjoining room, that then they might go out together. The friend sat down, took up a book, and as Szentkirályi lingered longer than his visiter had expected, he thought, that the hat might have been mislaid, and wished to assist in the search; but when he came to the door he found it locked. At a loss to understand what was going on, he called out for his friend; he rang the bell—in vain. His patience was doomed to a long trial; without dinner, he was imprisoned till late at night, when Szentkirályi returned, and was highly astonished to find a guest, whom he had utterly forgotten, after he had left his room in the morning and had gone upon his daily business.

Previous to March, Szentkirályi had been Sheriff of the county of Pest. By the ministry of Batthyányi he was appointed Comes (Count) of the Iazygs and Kumans, and went at their head, as civil commissary of the Government, against the Serbs. On this occasion he acted most energetically. But he personally hated Kossuth, who, with him, had been elected representative of the county of Pest for the Diet, in 1847, and who had eclipsed him by the superiority of his genius. From the time that Kossuth became President of the Committee of Defence, Szentkirályi withdrew from politics; and when Windischgrätz entered the capital, the former representative of Pest issued a proclamation against the Committee of Defence; paid homage to Windischgrätz, and thus disavowed the principles for which he had fought. When his countrymen returned to Pest, he fled from his fatherland. He went to Bavaria, and there plunged into the study of medical science. One may doubt whether, with all his talents, he will find out a remedy for the pangs of remembrance.

No one, perhaps, showed himself so perversely brave in despising

shame as Pázmándy—the President of the House of Representatives, and Member of the Committee of Defence. If Grecian poetry had embodied a god of envious ambition, Pázmándy would have been its very model. His delicately slight frame appeared less slight than it was, by the refined haughtiness which pervaded it. The livid colour of his cheek, brightened by the mysterious light which fell from his brilliantly soft eye, reminded one occasionally of a gazelle, at other times of a tiger in repose. His elegantly insinuating manners, his voice mild and glowing like a serpent's gaudy skin, all this marked him out as a dangerously able man—more dangerous still to himself than to those whom he hated, but never dared to face boldly. And he hated every one superior to himself, be it in station or intellect; and viewed with pale distrust all those who could vie with his talents. He is the man of physical courage, but of moral cowardice; the man, who, for this very reason, prevented the Hungarian army from coming in time to the relief of Vienna, before Windischgrätz had joined Jellachich and Auersperg, and who, at the subsequent battle of Schwechat, purposely exposed himself to the enemy's fire, meddling, though no soldier himself, as volunteer, in outpost skirmishes. Pázmándy had the ambition to be President at the Diet of 1848, and won his poet by the influence of Kossuth and of the ministerial party, in opposition to the radicals, who were averse to see as their President the diplomatic courtier of aristocratic principles. According to his nature, he hated Kossuth, but took side with him. The 9th of September he headed the deputation at Schönbrunn, and pronounced, with the thrilling accents of conviction, the memorable speech, which openly expressed, that the court intrigues with Jellachich would force the Hungarian nation into revolution.

When, at the approach of Windischgrätz, the Hungarian Government proceeded to Debreczen, Pázmándy likewise set out, but turned back again; and a short time after the entrance of the Austrian Commander in the capital, he presented his humble excuse and his devoted homage. This he was said to have reiterated very often to the Prince during frequent visits. It was even asserted, that Pázmándy placed his talents and his advice at the disposal of the then ruling power in Pest. At the departure of the Austrians he did not follow them, and was summoned by the Hungarians to justify his behaviour. For this purpose he was called to Debreczen. He excused himself by the plea of cowardice, and succeeded in proving himself to be, "no traitor but only a coward." The Hungarian Government despised the man who did not disdain such a justification, and granted him perfect liberty. Pázmándy retired to his estates. There, however, he was arrested and detained by the Austrian authorities at their subsequent reoccupation of the country; but he was

soon released again. How he extricated himself, I do not know. He certainly had already learnt, by continued exercise of his elasticity, to compromise with the most opposite opinions.

In Pest, I often met the Hungarian General Aulich. His unpresuming sedate countenance expressed the dignity of real worth: his language had the preciseness of unimpassioned views. Only once did I notice in his accent aroused indignation. It was when the report came, that Colonel Mednyanszky, the Commander of the troops in the fortress of Leopoldstadt, had been hanged by the Austrians. Such barbarity exhibited a marked contrast to the dealings of the Hungarians in a similar case.

Lieutenant Field Marshal Blagoevich and General Zahn, the commanders of Pétervárad, showed themselves willing to surrender the fortress to the Austrians. The garrison arrested them, and remained faithful to the Hungarian cause. When subsequently Perczel relieved Pétervárad, he released Blagoevich and Zahn, and gave them leave to join the Austrians.

But not only in this single instance the Hungarian generosity was sadly responded to by the Austrian rulers. The Hungarians had at that period, as I was told by General Aulich himself, above twenty thousand prisoners of war. Amongst them were nearly three hundred officers; two generals—Roth and Philippovich—and both the chiefs of the staffs of Jellachich and of Schlick. These gentlemen were only confined to definite places, but by no means to prisons. They were, as of course, allowed to walk about, and many of them even to retain their swords. While left free to manage for themselves, they were also allowed regular pay.[1] The Hungarians, on the contrary, who in former times had served in the Imperial army, and now fell into the hands of the Austrians, were hanged, shot, or at least imprisoned with heavy irons by court-martial. The common Honvéds were instantly enrolled in Austrian regiments and sent to Italy. The Honvéd officers, who had not served before in the Austrian army, received eightpence a day. After the published executions and notorious ill-treatment of several of the Hungarian prisoners of war, Görgey sharply protested against such cruelty, unknown to civilized nations, and issued a proclamation to that effect, in which he threatened retaliation. The Austrian commanders little heeded what one of them called "nonsense," saying: "that the Hungarians never would *have the courage* to hang and shoot prisoners."

[1] The Austrian prisoners of war received from the Hungarian Government the following amount for their entertainment monthly: a lieutenant, three pounds sterling, a captain four, a major five, a lieutenant-colonel six, a colonel seven, a general eight. Every common soldier had daily twopence, and his portion of bread. Eightpence when employed at labour—at railroads or intrenchments.

At that time, Guyon, the brave Irishman, was appointed commander of Komárom; but he declined the duty, plainly declaring to Kossuth, that nothing could induce him to serve under Görgey, whom he believed to be a traitor; yet, not to occasion any public schism, he refused the offered promotion under the pretext of keeping clear of the cholera, which then raged within the walls of the fortress. The valorous Klapka therefore became its commander.

Highly interested as I was in all that happened, yet I always kept in view my main object—which I incessantly pursued for months, during the most signal transition of fortune and events—to join my husband. For this purpose, I had, in February, written to my relations residing in Vienna, without result, however, as my poor maid had been imprisoned; for this purpose I had inquired and entreated, by means of kind friends at Pest, during the sway of Windischgrätz; but all I then could obtain was the answer: "that a passport to Vienna would be granted, but by no means to a foreign country."

Now I again was in Pest, to see what could be achieved. I soon saw that every communication with Vienna was perfectly impracticable, as the frontiers were strictly guarded. A glance at the map shows how little safe it was to attempt an escape. In the north, where Hungary touches the confines of Galicia, Silesia, and Moravia, the Russians were already said to be concentrating; and still more than Russians, the *cordon* of Galician peasants was to be dreaded by every traveller, as by the licensed massacres of 1846 they had learnt to pursue every one who was no peasant himself. Northwest, between the March and the Vág, the main Austrian army stood, opposed to that of the Hungarians. It was no less dangerous to try to pass southwest, through Croatia, thus to reach perhaps Triest, the railway in Illyria, or the Hungarian port of Fiume.[1] All persons who came from Hungary, of whichever sex, were deemed mutineers or spies, and were tried before court-martial. The journey by Turkey was too long and difficult for me. The only practicable road appeared the frontier between Croatia and the Danube. Even in respect to this way, I could not exactly ascertain the state of things in Pest. I was desirous to know whether, at least from the Hungarian side, free passage be granted. To ensure this, I determined to go to Debreczen, and to inquire myself.

Debreczen is at a hundred and thirty English miles from Pest. This distance is shortened by the railroad, which leads from the capital to Szolnok, about sixty English miles. The very first per-

[1] Fiume had politically always belonged immediately to the Hungarian, not to the Croatian territory. It sent its representative to the Hungarian Diet, not to the Provincial Diet of Croatia. The Governor of Fiume had a seat in the Diet at Zágráb (Agram), but only because he likewise was Governor of the Croatian port of Bukkari, and not in his quality of Governor of Fiume.

son by whom I chanced to be accosted, at the railway terminus, was a gentleman coming from Paris: he had heard from my husband, and gave me tranquillizing tidings—the first for three long months.

This was a good omen! Of course I most eagerly examined this gentleman about all the particulars of his journey. He had been perfectly unknown in the places where he was obliged to show his passport, and therefore passed unnoticed.

The aide-de-camp of General Damianics joined us too. The boyish countenance of the young Major was flushed with joyful enthusiasm when we passed the battle-field near Szolnok, where Damianics, the beloved leader, had beaten the Austrians in February. It was the valiant Damianics, himself a Serb, who defeated the rebel Serbs in December at Lagerndorf, and carried the intrenchments of Tomassovátz. A few days after his victory, he was summoned to retire with his victorious troops towards Debreczen. Before he left the southern parts, he issued a most energetic proclamation to his misguided countrymen. He threatened them with utter destruction if they persevered in their furious career of plunder and murder. His concluding words were: "If you rise again, I shall return and burn down your houses, and put to death yourself and your parents and children; and on the grave of my nation I shall shoot myself, that not one of the cursed race may survive, which breaks its allegiance!"

Such a style of address was necessary with the wild Serbs, who in their religious and political fanaticism, practised unheard-of tortures on their unfortunate prisoners of war. These ferocious hordes had, in the beginning of the struggle with the Hungarians, taken prisoner a young volunteer, a native of the German town of Weisskirchen. The parents of the lad, who were wealthy citizens, sent to the hostile camp the offer of a ransom for their son. On the following day the Serbs sent the son to his parents, but—roasted alive.

Damianics knew how to use that language, which alone could be understood by his infuriated countrymen: but in actual deeds, his own generous nature dictated to him how to deal with his adversaries. After the battle of Szolnok, when the defeated Austrians left considerable booty behind them, Damianics sent after the retreating Imperial officers their private luggage, which had likewise been captured by his soldiers. The Hungarian General said, that private property, although the enemy's, was to be respected.

The young officer who related to me this circumstance, which he had witnessed himself, sorrowfully deplored the misfortune, that the General, whom in twenty battles no hostile ball had hit—had broken his leg by a fall from his carriage, and thus was disabled for some time from heading his troops. Led by him, they deemed themselves unconquerable; strong enough not only to repel the Austrians, and

Russians too if necessary, but to carry their banner wherever it was required. This great popularity was owing, not merely to the bravery of Damianics, though he equalled any of those most noted for personal courage; but he was likewise regarded as a father by his soldiers. Strict in service with his subordinates, he treated all of them perfectly as his equals in daily intercourse. He shared the food, as well as all the interests, of the common soldiers. After the battle, in which he ever was to be seen foremost, he sought and visited the wounded, and attended to them with his own hands. Brave as the bravest, he had the affectionate kind-heartedness of a child; and therefore he was equally looked up to and beloved by all who surrounded him. He was one of the Generals most sincerely attached to Kossuth. When Kossuth visited him in Pest, and found him stretched on the couch with his broken leg, the Governor sorrowfully said: "Might I but sacrifice my hand, if thus your foot could be recovered!" Damianics replied, "Better that this cannot be, because I would then redeem your hand with my life."—When Görgey was appointed Minister of War, Kossuth wished to entrust Damianics with the chief command. His fall disabled him for weeks from taking any active part in the struggle, which he had so often decided, and which, under his direction, might have been ended more fortunately for the nation, to whom he had devoted his life of bravery, and for whom he died the death of a martyr. When, after the catastrophe of Vilagos, he was doomed with the other Hungarian generals to the gallows, and his twelve companions were executed before him, as his turn was to be the last, he, still hardly able to stand on his broken leg, but unsubdued by sickness and adversity, said to the Austrian officer with unmoved calmness: "Ever the first in the battle, why am I now to die the last?"

Arrived at Szolnok, I contemplated the Tisza (Theiss); a stream thoroughly Hungarian, not only in its local origin[1] and course, but likewise in the striking picture it presents of the Hungarian character. Quiet and smooth in its ordinary state, it powerfully overflows when roused by a storm, or when the awakening sun melts the snow, which, during the wintry sleep has buried the extensive plains all around. The very overflowing of the mighty river fertilizes the soil, rich in yet unexplored treasures. A great number of the battle-fields, celebrated in Hungarian history, are on the banks of the Tisza. It has witnessed the glorious past of the Hungarian nation, bravely struggling through centuries of trials and calamities. I

[1] The source of the Theiss is on the northeast frontier of Hungary, in the country of Marmaros. At Tokay it leaves its westward course, and streams southwards through Lower Hungary, where at Titel, not very far from the Turkish frontier, it enters the Danube.

The Jazygs carefully preserve, as a relic, the ivory drinking-horn of Lehel—the son of one of the companions of Arpád—who, according to the legend, on the battle-field of Merseburg, though already mortally wounded himself, struck down the chief of the Germans with this horn. When the rights of citizenship are conferred in Jazygia, or when any welcome guest is greeted in the town-hall of Jaszberény (the chief place of the Jazygs), this horn, filled with wine, is to be emptied in one breath.

My road likewise led through Szaboszló, one of the seven towns of Hajdus. They, also Hungarians, earned their privileges from Bocskay, Prince of Transylvania, as a recompense for their services, from 1604 to 1606, in his war for religious freedom against Rodolph II. The Hajdus likewise are all free from feudalism. They are wealthy landed proprietors, and their towns are thriving villages of uncommon extension, and with a most fertile soil. Their national relic is the standard of Bocskay.

The Hajdus, no less than the Cumans and Jazygs, are well known for their patriotism. During the last struggle, several of their communities gave double the number of recruits required from them.

On the unbounded plains, which now appeared endless before me, the phenomenon of the Fata Morgana not seldom startles the inexperienced wanderer. It does not here, as in the East, astonish by reproducing distant towns, and beautiful scenery, but it habitually presents the aspect of a wide sea, which covers all around.

Over the great plain, from the Danube down to Transylvania, we find everywhere the remains of a wall, and a canal, which, without doubt, were of Roman origin, and marked the Roman frontier, as similar walls in England and Southern Germany. The Romans, and the nations against whom the wall was erected, were forgotten long before the Hungarians took possession of the country. These therefore knew nothing of the real origin of the wall; no Roman tradition survived in the plain of the Tisza. But the imagination of the people created a charming legend, in which this wall is connected with the Fata Morgana, so often to be met in those parts.

Csörsz, as the shepherds tell, was the gallant son of the King of the Transylvanian Alps, whose treasures of gold and salt are greater than those of all the kings and princes in the world. Csörsz heard of the celestial beauty of Déli Báb, the daughter of the King of the Southern Sea (*Adriatic*), and his heart was inflamed with love for her. He therefore sent his heralds from his Alps down to the borders of the Adriatic, with loads of the most costly gifts of salt and gold, and sued for the hand of the lovely Déli Báb. But the proud King of the Sea despised the Kings of the Earth, and said, that he never would grant the daughter of the Sea to the son of the Alps,

until he came with a fleet down from his mountains, to convey his bride by water to his palace, as her feet were too delicate to be exposed to the rough stones of the earth. But the heralds, convinced of the power of their king, threw the bridal ring, and the presents of gold and salt into the sea, which, from this time, became rich in salt, and having thus sealed the betrothing, returned to their prince. In despair about the desire of the King of the Sea, and ignorant how to comply with his condition, Csôrsz called on the devil, and entreated his aid. The devil, without delay, put two buffaloes to his glowing plough, and in a single night dug the canal from Transylvania to the Danube, and from thence down to the sea. Csörsz speedily had a fleet constructed, and joyfully steered down to the Adriatic, to take his bride. Her princely father gave up his daughter with deep regret: however, he was bound by his word, as the new diplomacy was not yet invented, and the pledges of monarchs were still, even in those parts, considered sacred. But the beautiful bride was sorry to leave her cool place of crystal, her innumerable toys of shells and pearls, and even the monsters of the sea, who had served her with unbounded devotion. She promised not to forget their home, and often to visit her father and sisters in summer, when the hot sunbeams might prove too intense for her on the dry earth. Csörsz, with festive sounds and merry songs, conveyed his beloved up the canal. Déli Báb was delighted with the mountains, woods, fields, and meadows, which swiftly passed her; she was highly amused with the objects wholly new to her sight. But when by chance she looked backwards, she noticed with terror, that behind the fleet the waters dried up in the canal; and that thus the return to her father's realm became impossible. She never could feel at home in the gold and salt vaults of the Transylvanian mountains, the heavy masses of the Alps depressed her soul; the wintry snow chilled her thoughts; the burning beams of the summer-sun melted her into tears. She never laughed, and always dreamt of her transparent abode in the sea. The love of the princely son of the Alps remained sterile; Déli Báb was childless. She melted away with longing, and was transformed into the Fata Morgana, a dreamy appearance of the sea, which vanishes away as soon as you approach, and which, in Hungary, yet bears the name of the fair Déli Báb. The remains of the devil's canal are still called *Csörsz árka* (the Canal of Csörsz). As for the fleet, on which he conveyed his bride to his home, since it proved useless in the Alps, he sold it to the Central Government of United Germany, which is asserted to have an affinity with Déli Báb; for which reason also the German Unity, like the Fata Morgana, remains but the shadow of a dream.

No Fata Morgana, but the long shadows of approaching night,

surrounded me when I reached the village-like town of Debreczen, which contained the Hungarian Government and Diet; whither also many of those were now flocking, whose principle it was to do homage to success.

I went to a friend of my youth—the wife of one of the Hungarian ministers, who kindly offered me a room, though her abode was by no means spacious, and was hardly sufficient for the modest wants of her own family. She related to me all she had undergone with her husband, whose life had been endangered more than once during the struggle, as he had seldom left the camp, where he had acted as civil commissary.

On the following day, in pursuing my business of the passport, I went to Kossuth, among others, to see whether by his interference, I might obtain my wish. I found the Governor of Hungary not more splendidly lodged than his ministers. I was struck by the careworn countenance of the once brilliantly beautiful man. But his manners were gentle and kind as ever, his accents pure and transparent, so as to give a particular charm to the most common expression. It is impossible to converse with Kossuth, and not to be convinced that nature framed him to influence his nation. But it is not the dazzling brilliancy of his personal attractions which mainly constitute his power over the people. It is his faith in his people,—a faith firm and irresistible, as the glowing conviction of the ancient prophets, who were the impersonation of the religious and political feeling of their nation, and appeared before the throne of the Kings of Israel, as often as these despised the law. The prophets reminded the Kings of their sins, and predicted their punishments; and the people assembled around them, and derived from their words and example the strength of heroic resistance.

CHAPTER XV.

ESCAPE.

When General Welden left Pest the 18th of April, and with the main Austrian army retreated towards Györ, Jellachich, with the wreck of his Croatian army, proceeded on a steamboat flotilla down the Danube, to protect Croatia, now threatened by Perczel.

Of the sixty-five thousand men, whom the Ban had in September led with adventurous presumption against Pest, eighteen thousand had returned to their country with General Theodorovich, four thousand with Nugent. Jellachich was now marching to the Drave, with no more than about fifteen thousand men. Their comrades had either perished by the Hungarian arms and by sickness, or had been scattered about Hungary as prisoners of war, far from their family and hearth. But the hardest fate was yet reserved to those, who in this expedition accompanied Jellachich.

They reached Esseg without difficulty. Here the people had accepted with faith the Austrian bulletins, and thus fancied Jellachich to be in reality a great General; they hardly could believe that the severely decimated troops were all that remained of the Croatian army, often represented as so powerful. After a short rest, the Croatian General hastened before Pétervárad, which, from the Sclavonic side was yet bombarded by the Austrian Colonel, Mamula. From hence Jellachich got into communication with Knicsanin, who repelled with energy the attacks of Perczel on the firm position of Titel.

By the junction of the two leaders, the Austrian troops became in these parts superior in number to the Hungarian army of the south. Jellachich was desirous to blockade Pétervárad, and to cut off Perczel from the fortress. He, therefore, in May, repeatedly attacked Neusatz, the town under the very walls of Pétervárad, exposed to the cannons of the fortress. But the valiant commanders of the fortress, General Paul Kiss, and Colonel Hollán, kept up so hot a fire against the Croats, who already had penetrated into the town, that they were forced to retire. But Neusatz was set in flames, and was turned into a heap of ashes, in the reiterated struggle between the Hungarians and the Croats. In spite of this, however, Perczel, being threatened at once by Knicsanin and Jellachich, could no longer hold out in the south of the Bácska. He retreated over the canal, and at Káty received a check from Jellachich. But the Ban was unable to pursue his advantage; the cholera broke out terribly among his soldiers, and swept them frightfully away.

In June, the two hostile armies stood passively opposed to each other, until at last General Vetter was appointed Commander-in-chief of the Hungarian army of the south, and reassumed the offensive. On the 14th of July, General Guyon, by his orders, attacked the Croats, on the very day which Jellachich had designed for an attack upon the Hungarians. The Ban was totally beaten at Hegyes, fled at first into the Roman intrenchments, and when he saw that even here he would be unable to resist, he once more retired into the mountains of the Fruska. Knicsanin still kept

Titel. Pétervárad was relieved the second time, and Croatia trembled anew. But the Russian invasion again compelled the Hungarians to concentrate their forces. Guyon and the nucleus of the southern army were obliged to hasten in forced marches to the midland counties, and Jellachich was thus once more saved. In the meanwhile, the Austrian General Berger, after a siege of nine months, had surrendered the fortress of Arad, under the condition of a free retreat. This capitulation was effected on the 1st of July; but Temesvár still resisted the Hungarians in the Banat, and Karlburg in Transylvania.

The operations of the army of the south, however, were little heeded by the public. Hardly any notice was taken of the repulse at Káty, or even of the magnificent victory of Hegyes: every one was aware that the fate of the country was not to be decided in those parts. It appeared incomprehensible that nothing was done at the Vág and Danube, and that thus full time was granted to the Austrians to reorganize, and to be joined by the Russians. There were continually skirmishes in the Isle of Schütt, some of them brilliant; for instance, one at Csorna, in which the Austrian General Wyss fell; but they had no general result, and the main positions of the army remained unaltered. The signal victories with which Görgey had advanced from the Tisza to the Danube had awakened new trust in his talent and his fortune. His tarrying was attributed to a profound design; and that, even when he lingered a whole month, after the conquest of Buda. No one ventured a decided judgment upon the real plan of the Commander-in-chief, even if many opined that he was anxious to be military dictator; so much the less, as he made no secret to his officers of his hatred against Kossuth, and his contempt for all civil government; but nobody suspected his *real design.*

When in the first days of June I returned from Debreczen, where I had been but two days, rumour said that Russians had already appeared at the outskirts of the county of Arva, but had retired again without any serious attack.

After what I ascertained in Debreczen, I determined to avail myself of an opportunity offered me to accompany an old lady, as a companion, to one of the Bohemian watering-places; there I trusted to get the means of joining my husband, and enabling our darling children, as soon as possible, to escape the scenes of war by which we were surrounded. My arrangements were soon made, and we set out. We luckily passed where the frontier was yet unoccupied by soldiers, and in spite of our Hungarian passport, had little difficulty to get on in Austria. I dare say my old lady looked too respectable, and I too inoffensive, to attract any peculiar notice. Thus

we reached our destination without any marked adventure. But there my trials were to begin. I expected there to find a person who was to procure me a passport, and to accompany me further. She had not arrived, and I had no remedy but patience. But I hardly ventured to step over the threshold, dreading to meet one of my Viennese acquaintances, who, by some exclamation of surprise—for I did not apprehend ill-will—might render it more difficult for me to pass wholly unnoticed. However, one, two, three days elapsed, and no friend arrived. I was reduced to the nervous state of a prisoner, to whom rescue is promised, which tarries for unknown reasons, and brings about all the pangs of uncertainty and longing. I fretted away with expectation and conjectures. At last I found every danger preferable to this miserable suspense; so, one bright sunny morning, I summoned up all my courage, and, as carefully veiled as an oriental damsel, I accompanied my old lady to the well. The hum and buzz of watering-place conversation formed a strong contrast to the subjects of anxious interest so vividly present to my mind. Of course I understood the verbal meaning of every word I now heard; but, nevertheless, the impression of this language had grown so unfamiliar to me, that I felt like one transported into a new realm, where all views seemed utterly opposed to what I had witnessed in the preceding months. I felt this most striking, when Hungary itself, its war, and the Russian invasion chanced to be mentioned. These matters were discussed amongst other topics, as novels, music, trips in the neighbourhood, and similar amusements. Life and death, the actual existence of millions of human beings, were thus not differently treated from every-day pastimes, with the only distinction, that those first concerns were styled troublesome, and as I heard a young lady assert: "The Russians were a great comfort, as the knout proved the only radical remedy for the impudence of constitutional and revolutionary inclinations." An officer, who probably found such reasoning admirably logical, said: "Certainly, Hungary must be subdued, as he was most desirous to spend a merry carnival in Pest, in the next winter." I only wondered why the young soldier, who treated the struggle with such perfect ease, did not cast his sword into the Austrian scale. He certainly did not look as if great exertions on the battle-field had obliged him to resort to mineral waters.

Much discomfort came over me, when I saw several persons whom I had frequently met in former years. In such an idle place, I was sure, if recognised, to encounter more examination than I cared for, while aiming to get to England as soon as possible.

At last my longed-for friend arrived, but without the required passport. What was to be done? I saw no way of forwarding my

expedition, and therefore submitted—to retreat. But my poor friend, fearing by her sudden departure to expose herself to the curiosity and distrust so easily awakened in a gossiping circle, was doomed to stay, and to undergo a regular cure of bathing and drinking. It was impossible for her to escape this hard fate, as the official Æsculapius, the despot of all those who come within the compass of his realm, had got hold of her.

I retraced my steps, disguised as her servant. When, however, I arrived again at the frontier, it was already occupied by Austrian soldiers, and free passage was prohibited. My lady, no less than I, and our luggage, had to sustain severe examination. My supposed mistress was taken up to a room, where some other travellers underwent the same process, to which we ourselves were subjected, only that, thanks to my lady's presence of mind, we were more courteously treated. The other sufferers were obliged to empty their pockets, and every trifle belonging to their dress or luggage, was submitted to the strictest censure. This even extended to their money. In the pocket-book of a gentleman £20 sterling in Austrian bank notes were found; the officiating under-police-officer addressed his superior with the question: "Is that not too much for one person?" My lady had no difficulty to understand this question, necessarily incomprehensible to any one not initiated in the practice of the Austrian court-martial police exerted on more than one unfortunate traveller. I know of several merchants, who in that period went from Pest to Vienna with the amount of six to eight thousand pounds, designed for payments. At the Austrian frontier these gentlemen were detained, and their money was taken into custody. The cause alleged for this violent proceeding was, that, though the passports were regular, the money might possibly be carried for some hidden aim. Whether the money was finally returned or not, is unknown to me.

My lady, anxious for her purse, which contained £20, tried the experiment of boldness. She daringly offered the bag she carried on her arm to the captain who attended her, and said, "Please to examine!" The officer, with a gentleman's courtesy declined to accept it, replying, "This is superfluous. Madam, I am sorry enough to be compelled to the duties of a policeman."

Whilst my mistress was manœuvring so well up stairs, I was surrounded below in the court by some ten soldiers employed to the examination of our luggage. I had a good conscience, that everything which we had with us was wholly inoffensive, even if exposed to the examination of a court-martial, and therefore willingly exposed every object to searching scrutiny, and could not help laughing at the patience-trying pains, with which the soldiers' hands, unaccustomed

to such nice service, unfolded and folded up again every handkerchief, and every glove; but not before the paper in which the articles were wrapped up had been exposed to the rays of the sun, to ascertain that no treacherous ink was hidden under the seeming gray, or the printed lines of the blotting-paper.

This operation lasted a good many hours. At last I was dismissed as not suspected, and hastened up the staircase to communicate the good tidings. I met one of the officers, who addressed me, asking from whence we came, and why we returned to the troubled country? I answered that Hungary was our home. The officer entered upon the causes of the war, and said, that, in fact, all the mischief came from the ladies, who alone governed Hungary. I assured him, that this was perfect news to me. "Yes," continued the officer, "one Hungarian lady has ventured as often as fifteen times, under the most various disguises, to pass through our camp with despatches she carried to the Hungarian Chief: yet we have not arrested her." I expressed my astonishment at this unusual courtesy, and after my return home inquired as to the ground for this strange story. I heard, that a lady really had hazarded herself twice to take messages to the Hungarian army. Once she succeeded in her adventurous enterprise, but the second time she was taken prisoner, and conveyed *in chains* to Buda, where the Austrians, most fortunately for her, forgot her in the prison, when in April they retreated from Pest.

Reunited to my sweet children, for the moment I easily consoled myself for the failure of my expedition, but determined to try again as soon as an opportunity could be found.

All was disorder now in the country around us from the entrance of the Russians in the northern counties. Eperjes and Kassa were already occupied. The Grand-Duke Constantine himself was said to have addressed speeches to the Hungarian population, in which he assured them, that the Russians came as friends of the Hungarians; he did not mention the Austrians at all. The Russians, from the very beginning of this invasion, behaved on the whole with much more regard for the inhabitants, than the Austrians. It was obvious, that the former courted the sympathies, which the latter had spurned.

Several outpost engagements took place against the new invaders, in which the Hungarians had some advantage, and their guerillas carried off a good number of Russian horses and caparisons. But this was the whole result of the resistance, which alone the small corps, under the brave Pole Visozki and General Aristides Dessewffy, could offer at the time to the much superior forces of the enemy, who soon entered Miskolcz, and under the prevailing circumstances could not be expected to be long kept off from Pest.

I then saw that escape would soon become utterly impossible, and therefore again set out to Pest to convince myself of what I might yet hazard. In the first days of July, I found Pest in great consternation. The Hungarian Government had again abandoned the capital, because, as it was said, Görgey had decidedly refused to act according to the premeditated plan, by which, as the public asserted, Pest might still have held out. Upon this a widely spreading gloom—the common forerunner of great calamities—oppressed the citizens of Pest. This was dispelled for a moment, when Kossuth's reappearance, two days after the government had left, electrified old and young. The general bitterness against Görgey increased: he was loudly called a traitor, who was only waiting for a favourable moment to compel his army to capitulate, for the sake of his own personal views, and to satisfy his ambition and hatred. Kossuth was reproached with weakness, for not having long ago brought Görgey before a court-martial. It was denied that Görgey's own army—as many had maintained—would have opposed such a measure; because, although the General had ever powerfully worked upon a great part of his officers, yet the common soldiers—the alone unequalled heroes of the day,—were sons of the people, upon whom Kossuth's influence ever remained unquestioned.

Every one, at this time, felt the heaviness of the approaching storm. The nation, which had proved unconquerable by the number and superior tactics of the once illustrious Imperial Armies,—which had so valiantly defended its ancient rights, and hereby proved itself worthy of them, this nation was now to be forcibly crushed by the material forces of northern despotism. And Constitutional Europe, even Republican France, had no veto against illegal violence, which replied to every lawful claim by the gallows. This was felt with extreme bitterness. The most intense of human passions—wounded patriotism,—was gnawing men's hearts. The pressure of material power from without, seemed, at this moment, overwhelming. The public feeling was repressed; but for this very reason not less condensed than the threatening danger.

My private position was in full accordance with the public state of things. Far from him for whom I longed, surrounded by difficulties, I saw the moment speedily approach which would cut off all possibility of moving in any direction. I had no alternative but to leave my poor little darlings during events of danger, if I would not passively submit to renounce, possibly for years, every chance of seeing myself and our children reunited to my husband. My inclinations and my duties were fully concordant. I weighed them therefore, and the probabilities of success, against the risks which were to be undergone. I then prepared without further speculation, and with

firm trust in Him who blesses a wife's and a mother's heart with the strength of love.

I had found out an old German gentleman with his young wife, who longed to escape the troubles of a land in which they had no concern, and who, therefore, were anxious to return to their country. I did not personally know this couple; only from the above-mentioned circumstances I was aware that they were provided with a passport from their own government, and therefore would probably be allowed to pass into Austria unmolested. I thought if I could go with them as a subordinate appendage, I should meet with little difficulties on the passage. I therefore presented myself to them with my request, and they, unaware of my real situation or name, accepted my companionship. Thus I set out again with utter strangers, unacquainted with their views and feelings for the country in whose cause I was so deeply interested. Certainly, the manner in which we proceeded seemed little suited to an escape. The large trunks and numberless parcels included even wine and other victuals, which my German carried with as anxious foresight as if we were to travel across some desert. The post-carriage, which we had to change on every station, was over-filled. Thus the speed, for which I peculiarly longed on this journey, was considerably slackened. The Gernan, however, had no taste for a courier's pace, and multiplied the delays in most various ways. One time it was for some statistical information that he tarried; another time, it was to inquire about some acquaintance in the neighbourhood of our road. But much oftener than either, our time and his lungs and temper were tried in altercations with the postmasters or the peasants, from whom we had to hire our conveyances. This great business never was settled without confronting all the drivers who could possibly be summoned in the town or village in which we stopped, and the fare was never promised without long debates. These matters grew still worse in certain parts of the country, which were already occupied by the Austrians. Here the people was averse to accept the Hungarian bank notes at par. To submit to such a loss was a bitter task for our German gentleman; the more so, as at the first station he had lost his pocket-book, with money. When we had to change horses the second time, we could get no coach, but only a car with racks. Unaccustomed to such accommodation, our good gentleman had so much to do in keeping his own balance, that his stick, umbrella, and gloves, one after the other, slipt through the racks; nor did he succeed in recovering one of these articles. The gentleman's temper, indeed, was not easily disturbed; but the wife protested that he actually would lose one of his limbs on the way, which by no means seemed improbable, as he often fell asleep, and

did not sufficiently provide against the shocks which the uncomfortable cars, jerked over the inequalities of the road, often occasioned. This we never experienced more thoroughly, than one day, when from noon to midnight, in an open vehicle, we were exposed to the burning rays of the sun, and soon after to a splashing rain. The poor worn out horses hardly dragged us along; we gave them a little rest in the covert of a wretched inn, but were soon obliged to proceed, as the more and more darkening sky reminded us that still many a mile lay between us and the accommodation pointed out to us as our only possible resting-place for the night. Therefore we rattled on. But soon blinded by a stormy wind, and the rivulets streaming down from our parasols, and from the broken umbrella of the owner of the horses, we gave ourselves up to the decrees of fate with the stoicism of helplessness. Night had already come on, when we found out that our equipage, no less than we ourselves, was so completely drenched that we could do nothing but resort to the very first shelter, whatever it might be. Fortunately it was the cottage of a Hungarian peasant, who received us with the usual hospitality. The German gentleman and his wife being unacquainted with the Hungarian language, I officiated as interpreter. The good peasant and his wife offered us their own room, but as it was harvest-time, the small space was so crowded, containing likewise several labourers, that we declined the kindness, and preferred to encamp in the barn, where the fragrant hay, highly heaped up, granted comfortable couches. To rest the over-tired horses, which had undergone such hard work, the good people drove their own cows from the stable, as it was not large enough to contain both cows and horses.

Such ready hospitality grew more rare, the nearer we came to the frontier, which was threatened and partly occupied by the enemy. In these parts anxiety and distress were so prevalent, that it was not without marked difficulty that we got horses. Every one feared that we should fall in with troops, who, without ceremony, would appropriate the horses to their own use. Thus we advanced so slowly, that we took a whole week for a distance, which, under regular circumstances, might have been traversed in thirty hours. At last we reached the place on the frontier, where the passport was to be examined; no objection was made, except that it was necessary to have it signed by one of the superior officers, and that for this purpose we must proceed to one of the larger towns, which was at a short day's journey. I submitted with reluctance, because I had been in that town before, and had there a good number of acquaintances; yet I faced what I could not avoid, and we set forth. As soon as we arrived at our destination, the first care

of the gentleman was to go to the military commander, and entreat to be dispatched as soon as possible. But the answer was, that in spite of the perfect regularity of his papers, we could not be allowed to proceed, as passage was now granted only by special exemption. Representations, entreaties, all proved fruitless. Day after day passed, the purse of the gentleman grew leaner and hopes fainter. I seldom went out. I suffered the tortures of loneliness, with no certainty to fall back upon. If recognised as the wife of a Hungarian, who had been implicated in the cause of his country, I had no notion what would become of me. Conscious as I was of the perfect lawfulness of all I had attempted, I yet had experienced too much of the arbitrary measures of military authorities, not to be prepared for everything. At last our gentleman again ventured an attack on the ruling officer, with the question: "How long we were to be detained?" "As long as the war lasts," was the consolatory answer. When the gentleman returned crest fallen with this disheartening message, I took the liberty to observe, that, if they chose to keep us, it certainly would be just to have the expenses of our unwilling stay paid for us, as we easily could prove, that our means would not hold out very long against the expenses of the hotel. Armed with this argument our protector again tried his eloquence, and as he peculiarly insisted upon pecuniary embarrassment, and the necessity of supply if longer detained, he gained the point. After ten days' delay, we were free to go, and even the German gentleman was perfectly changed in respect to his lingering inclinations. We enjoyed no sights of any kind on Austrian territory, and only rested, when forcibly detained by passport examinations and difficulties, which we still had, more than once, to undergo, before we reached Prussian ground. Here I breathed a little more freely, and listened to railroad conversations, of which the events in Hungary often formed the topic. I had not seldom the satisfaction to hear the loud praises of the people, which, after all I had witnessed, so eminently deserved snch acknowledgment.

We now travelled like trunks, day and night shut up in the railroad carriages. I had enough to remember, and to look forward to, not to mind present inconvenience. My good-natured gentleman, as soon as we had got rid of the tedium of examination, had recovered his habitual elasticity of mind, and the whole comfort of his cheerful temper. The railway regulations not permitting long delays, he at least had the gratification of getting down at every station—which in Germany succeed one another about every thirty minutes' distance—to relish everywhere one or other of the delicacies, which, during the first part of our journey, had seldom been offered by the village inns. I heartily thanked the amiable couple,

who had been very kind to me, and to whom I was, after the result of my attempt, more indebted than they themselves were aware of at the time. From the very first, I had engaged myself to accompany them only as far as Belgium: from thence I had to proceed alone to the blessed country, where it has been long ago recognised, that passports are an invention to worry the harmless traveller, and by no means to prevent the escape of one who wishes to evade the scrutiny of the police. But before I touched the ground of hospitable freedom, I had yet a disagreeable passage, in a dark night. I was the only female on board of an uncomely steamboat. The first English captain I saw—rough-featured, with a rough voice and rough manners, red-faced, and especially red-nosed—who, when I inquired for some refreshment, offered me a glass of grog—answered so little to the picture I had formed of a gallant mariner, that I was quite startled. This impression was by no means softened by the appearance of two or three passengers, who, besides me, alone were on board. They all looked anything rather than gentlemanlike, and yet had none of the attractions of Mr. Pickwick's faithful Sam Weller, which, to a certain degree, might have made up for the lack of more refined accomplishments. I was highly disappointed, and almost fancied that I had got into a wrong vessel, which would take me to some barbarous coast. My only consolation was, that no provisions were visible, and that therefore no long journey could be intended. I retreated to the ladies' cabin, locked my door, and soon was lulled to sleep. I awoke at Dover, where I giddily stepped into the unsteady boat, which took us ashore. Here we directly were surrounded by the intrusively pressing hotel-keepers, who hardly gave me time to see my luggage safely delivered. I hastened to the railway terminus, and soon started. I found myself alone in the carriage with a kind and genteel-looking old gentleman, whose agreeable countenance soon dispelled the unpleasant impression of the uncongenial physiognomies, in which I had not recognised a single feature of John Bull, who had always appeared to my imagination the very picture of kind-hearted sincerity and practical good sense.

At ten o'clock the capital of the civilized world lay before me. But I had no eye for its grandeur, no mind for its mighty interests; my heart was turned to one small house, for which I anxiously looked out from the windows of the carriage, very much afraid that the cabman might mistake the street or the number.

Reunited to my beloved husband, our main care, of course, was to regain our dear children. This was no easy task. Though our

eldest was but three, the youngest a babe of seven months, no passport was granted for them; and Austrian newspapers even asserted that they had been recognised, and arrested on the road. This proved untrue. The poor children of Kossuth had been detained; ours escaped the inquiries of the Austrian Government.

Thanks to the Almighty bounty, that blessed the exertions of unequalled friends, our darlings joined us two months after my arrival.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE CATASTROPHE.

Whilst I fortunately achieved my escape, the catastrophe of the great tragedy in Hungary came on, in a sudden and terrible manner. In this struggle everything, from the very first moment, had taken another turn than the men of prudence had calculated upon. The fall of Metternich, the concessions in April, the invasion of Jellachich and his defeat, the Viennese revolution and its issue, the easy advance of Windischgrätz and the unbloody capture of Pest, the unparalleled defeats of the Austrians; all this lay out of the reach of all computation. Western Europe had long forgotten the power which the genius of a single man can exert, when this man represents the ideas and prejudices, the virtues and errors of his nation, and in consequence of this possesses the full trust of the people. But the catastrophe of the Hungarian struggle was still more unexpected and less comprehensible than its beginning.

It seems that Görgey anticipated, during the whole months of May and June, that either Kossuth, and the Hungarian Government, or the Austrian cabinet would make conciliatory proposals. Many of Görgey's friends, who formerly had served in the Austrian army, nourished the same hope. They still considered the Austrian officers as brethren in arms, in spite of their position in the opposed ranks, and imagined that negotiations of peace could not fail to be taken up soon; so much the more, as the hardest conditions for the Austrians in this case, could not prove so disadvantageous to them, as to become dependent on Russia. Besides the Russian aid—of which the Austrian papers spoke so loudly—tarried so long, that not only the officers of Görgey, but even those persons, to whom

the ever-yielding policy of England and France, in respect to Russia, was not unknown, were ready to believe that Governments of the West had, by an energetic protestation, prevented the Russian intervention; and that all Eastern Europe could not willingly submit to Russian "protection." Görgey, therefore, instead of complying with the reiterated order of the Hungarian Government to advance and to march against Vienna, purposely lingered at the Vág. The Russians concentrated their forces. The Austrian army, swelled by recruits and restored by a repose of two months, received a new commander, Lieutenant-Field-Marshal Haynau, only too notorious by the slaughter of Brescia. He prepared to act offensively. Görgey saw at last what precious weeks he had lost; he now, in presence of the Austrians and Russians, who were ready to meet him, attempted what he had neglected to do in time. The 19th of June he attacked the enemy at the Vág; the battle proved bloody and was renewed on the 21st. The Austrians began to retreat, but the Russian reserve, under General Paniutin, resisted the impetus of the Hungarians who, the first time for months, were obliged to retire without victory. After this battle both armies crossed the Danube, and Görgey was at Guyör (Raab), again compelled to draw back. He retired to the walls of Komárom, and with sarcastic complacency gave notice to the Government at Pest, that it must speedily leave the capital, as he was unable to cover it. Kossuth immediately sent him the order to hasten on the north bank of the Danube to Pest, to join here the corps of Dembinsky, Dessewffy and Visozki, and thus to meet the main body of the Russians, under Paskievits, Prince of Warsaw.

The Prince had slowly advanced to Miskolez, by Dukla, Eperjes, and Kassa. Visozki and Dessewffy could offer him but little resistance in the county of Sáros; yet, united to Görgey, a battle might have been accepted with chances of victory; and the tidings of such an advantage over Paskievits, would most probably have demoralized the army of Haynau. But Görgey was unwilling to fight the Russians. He also was averse to join the Hungarian corps; he chose to be at the head of a smaller army, of which he knew that almost every officer thoroughly trusted him, even in case of his opposition to the Government, rather than to command the united Hungarian troops. He was well aware, that in the great army, he would find the subordination due to the leader, but by no means blind reliance. Görgey did not obey the orders of the Government. He played over again the part, which in January had succeeded with him so well; he again broke off all intercourse with the Government. If Kossuth had then gone to the army at Komárom, his popularity amongst the great bulk of the soldiers would have rendered it pos-

sible—in spite of the officers' adherence to Görgey and the intrigues carried on against the "Civilians," to depose the General, and arrest him before the very eyes of his troops. But Kossuth shrank from such a step. He was aware of Görgey's talents, no less of his hatred against all superiority; but he did not deem it possible, that this hatred could blind a brave soldier so far, as to induce him heedlessly to betray his country, his friends, and his honour, with the sole aim to envelope in the general destruction those whom he hated. However, when the letters addressed by Csányi[1] to Görgey, in the latter half of June, proved perfectly without result, and the Hungarian leader made no preparation to move from his position at Komárom, Kossuth at last deposed him, and appointed Dembinski and Mészáros in his stead. Mészáros had, in respect to military success, no credit with the army. Every one highly esteemed his upright and perfectly honourable character, but on the battle-field he had decided misfortune. As to Dembinski, the officers of Görgey had peculiary disliked him, ever since the battle of Kápolna; besides, he was not thought sufficienly energetic, and, therefore, likewise often was called: "the old gentleman." But at the time there was no other general, whom the Government could have sent to replace Görgey. Bem was too necessary in Transylvania, where he had to resist the Russian invasion. Damianics had broken his leg. Klapka was a friend of Görgey, and Perczel was not considered adequate to be the Commander-in-Chief of the whole army.

The 2d of July, Mészaros and Dembinski, on their way to Komárom, heard the reports of cannons. The Austrians were storming the intrenchments which the Hungarians had erected on the south bank of the Danube. Görgey, who at this moment certainly had still more to struggle against within himself, than from the enemy, obviously sought death. In his red Hungarian coat, a white feather on his hat, he threw himself into the very midst of the combat. He was wounded in the fray by a cut with a sabre, but the balls seemed to avoid the General, whilst they decimated those who surrounded him. The heroic calmness which he evinced, won him again the hearts of his soldiers. The Austrians and Russians vainly attempted to storm the intrenchments; their repeated attacks were always repelled, the Hungarians remained victorious. And when in the evening they returned from the battle-field to their headquarters, they received the news, that their valiant General was deposed, and that Mészáros, on whom fortune never had smiled, and the Pole Dembinski were to replace their admired chief.

[1] Csányi had, as civil commissary, accompanied Görgey on his first march from Pressburg to Pest, from Pest by Upper Hungary, to Kapolna and to the Tisza, and was the personal friend of the general.

These tidings naturally created feelings of bitterness with the victorious troops, and they so much more slighted the 'Civilian' Government, as the two Generals, when they heard of the victory, did not even come to the camp, but returned to Kossuth. To depose a successful general in the day of a victory, appeared to every military man unwise and unjust, and Mészaros, the man of loyalty, considered the victory itself as a token, that Görgey did not intend treachery. The Russians, however, approached from Miskolcz, notwithstanding the cholera, which raged in their ranks. Kossuth and the Government were obliged to leave Pest, and proceeded to Szeged (Szegedin), where a considerable army was to be concentrated under Dembinski, Visozki, Dessewffy, Guyon, Perczel and Kmetty, who all expected Görgey and his troops, amongst which were some of the bravest battalions in the whole army.

In Komárom, after the battle, a council of war was held on the 4th of July, in which the friends of Görgey proposed a declaration on the part of the officers, that they would serve under no other chief-command, but that of Görgey. The Council of War, after having accepted this proposal, set down the plan of the campaign. Klapka urged Görgey to hasten by the north bank of the Danube, in forced marches to Pest, to join there the other corps, before the Russians could arrive. But Görgey, who had already settled in his mind to isolate his army, and to continue the war or the negotiations, on his own authority, proposed to break through the Austrian army on the south bank, to use the resources of the districts on that side, which had as yet suffered little by the war, and, according to circumstances, either to threaten the Austrian frontier, or to join the Hungarian army, which operated between the Danube and the Tisza. Klapka, on the contrary, supported his own plan, as more easily to be achieved, and more decisive for the deliverance of the country. But Görgey gave his opinion, that it "certainly was more comfortable to advance on the north bank, where no enemy was to be met with, and that, whoever shunned battle, was quite right to defend this opinion." In consequence the plan of Görgey naturally was adopted, and Klapka offered to take charge of the command during the operation, Görgey himself being still disabled by his wound.

The 10th of July the Hungarians attacked; the battle lasted until the evening: it was one of the bloodiest. The Austrians already gave way, but the Russian reserve of Paniutin restrained the impetuosity of the Honvéds; the operation did not prove successful.

No longer was any pretext for delay left to Görgey. He left Klapka in Komárom, and hastened eastward on the north bank. His troops believed that he was leading them to join the army of Dembinski, notwithstanding that the Russians had, without a single

combat, taken possession of Vácz and Pest. None of the soldiers had a notion, that already since the 2d of July the Russian diplomatists were apprised of Görgey's negotiations with Paskiewits, relative to his capitulation.[1] It seems, that Görgey considered the battle of the 2d of July as an ordeal; as in this he did not find the death he sought, he was strengthened in his purpose to end the struggle by unconditional surrender.

His retreat seemed in the outset favoured by fortune. He beat the Russians, who opposed him at Vacz; then turned to Vadkert and Losoncz, pursued by the Generals Grabbe and Sasz, whom he succeeded in avoiding by clever movements; but instead of directing himself towards the army of Dembinski on the nearest road left open to him, he manœuvred within the compass occupied by the various Russian corps; marched first to the Upper Tisza, to Tokaj, and then slowly towards the Maros. He did not hasten to Debreczen for the support of the army of Nagy Sándor, who had covered Görgey's retreat at Vacz, where he had to keep in check the whole Russian army. But Görgey did not choose to assist Nagy Sándor, who once had openly declared "that if ever in Hungary a Cæsar were to usurp military dictatorship, he himself would not fail to act as a Brutus."

In the meantime Haynau had pressed hard on the corps of Dembinski and Dessewffy who in the middle of July repaired to Szeged, where the Diet had assembled, and the faction styled the peace-party, intrigued with less restraint against Kossuth and for the dictatorship of Görgey. Görgey was considered by the greater part of the public, perhaps erroneously, as the cleverest of the generals. The intriguers knew him as a man without steady principles, who would more readily be induced to conciliation, or unconditional surrender, than Kossuth, with whom Austria never would negotiate.

The Diet in Szeged took some steps in respect to the Wallachs and Serbs, and published a general amnesty for them. But the government could not stay long in Szeged, which the generals determined to give up. They had been attacked and defeated by Haynau at Szöreg, and retired towards Temesvár; the Government, hereupon, went to Arad. No one could understand the movements of Dembinski. Arad, the Hungarian fortress, seemed adequate to offer a safe point of resistance, until the army of Görgey, which already approached, should come; whilst Temesvár, though severely besieged by the Hungarian General Count Vécsey, still was in Austrian hands, and therefore could not offer the same resource as Arad.

[1] See the Dispatch of Prince Wittgenstein in the Appendix.

In the same period a desperate struggle was going on in Transylvania. Bem from all sides surrounded by Russian numerical superiority, proved successful in brilliant combats; nevertheless he was more and more forcibly repressed. Neither in the southern nor in the northern land of the Saxons could the Hungarians resist; but drew closer up to the Hungarian frontier.

Kossuth now summoned Bem to the army of Lower Hungary. Immediately on the arrival of that General, he assumed the command and ordered the attack. On the morning of the 9th, the battle of Temesvár took place. Till half-past four in the afternoon Bem, who pressed forward personally with his left wing and chief force of artillery, drove the enemy from position to position.

The last reserves of Austrian and Russian cavalry charged to retrieve the day. They were beaten back by the Hussars. At this time the battle was thought to have been won, and Haynau, it is stated, had fled and was seven miles from the field, when suddenly Bem's cannon ceased. His ammunition was exhausted. Lichtenstein hereupon pressed the Hungarian right wing, mainly consisting of recruits, who had never yet been engaged, and who, on the death of their commander, retired in disorder. Meanwhile Bem had fallen with his horse and broken his collar-bone, and his left wing, now unsupported by artillery, was forced also to retire. Guyon with his hussars now charged the enemy's artillery; but men and horses having been for four-and-twenty hours without food or forage, failed in his attempt. Night came on, and the Hungarians retreated from the field unpursued. But though unpursued, in passing through a forest towards midnight, sudden panic seized them and they dispersed in all directions. It required the failure of Bem's ammunition, his personal accident, the death of the commander of the raw levies, the fact of the Hungarians having been four and twenty hours without food, and lastly, the presence of mind of Lichtenstein to prevent the Hungarian army from winning a battle, where not to conquer was to suffer a defeat. But so severely had the Austrians and Russians been handled, that several days after nearly the whole of this army unpursued, were permitted to rally again in the direction of Lugos with nearly all their guns.

When Kossuth received the tidings of this defeat, Görgey with his troops had just arrived at Arad. He had, on reaching the Tisza, written to Kossuth, that he wanted money and ammunition. Kossuth set out to meet him, but did not find him. At that time reports were spread, that the Russians were disposed to guarantee to the Hungarians the Constitution of 1848, and to raise the Grand Duke Constantine to the throne of Hungary. Even Kossuth had sent the ministers Szemere and Casimir Batthyànyi, to the Russian camp,

but these gentlemen were soon convinced of the emptiness of all these assertions.

Görgey, who favoured these reports, now asked the Governor, whether he thought it possible, alone to save the country. When Kossuth replied: "that he now could not do it, unsupported by Görgey," the General declared: "that he could and would save Hungary, but only if Kossuth directly resigned, and had him appointed Dictator." Kossuth assembled his ministers. Szemere and Duschek were not present, Csányi, Vukovics and General Aulich voted for Görgey. Kossuth resigned his post as Governor, and issued a proclamation, conferring the highest power upon Görgey, and imposing upon the new Dictator the responsibility of using his power solely to the safety of the country.

But whilst in the southeast the cause of Hungary was given up by Görgey, Klapka fought the Austrians in a successful sally from Komárom. On the 3d and 5th of August, the gallant General sallied forth from the fortress, captured the convoy of the Austrian and Russian army, and dispersed the beleaguering corps of General Csorich, notwithstanding the numerical superiority of the Austrians. The stroke was so unexpected that the fleeing troops rallied only in Posony. Klapka occupied Györ, and began to reinforce his army by recruits, and to threaten the Austrian frontier. The basis of operation of the main Austrian army was interrupted, its line of retreat cut off, and any advantage over Haynau might have occasioned the total destruction of his army.

But Görgey was averse to any longer struggle. He first sent away the general levy, then assembled the superior officers, and declared that the position of Hungary was desperate; that nothing but speedy submission could re-establish peace and save the country; besides, he was not willing to surrender to the Austrians, but to the Russians, who during the whole campaign, had acted as honourable enemies; that a general amnesty would be granted, and if nevertheless a sacrifice must fall in expiation of the war, he would offer himself willingly as the victim.

Every one in the army of Görgey knew, that negotiations had been going on already for a long time between the General and the Russians; and so firm was the trust the officers placed in him, so artfully had he known how to secure their confidence, that there was not one amongst them, who insisted upon learning the conditions on which they were to surrender, and the guarantees for the fulfilment of the conditions. Görgey sent the Counts Eszterházy, Bethlen, and Schmidegg to the Russian General Rüdiger with a letter, saying: "that the main Hungarian army was willing to surrender unconditionally." Rüdiger came to Világos, where Görgey, on the 13th of

August, surrendered with 24,000 men, picked troops, and an immense park of artillery. The Hussars and Honvéds understood nothing about the negotiation; they were told by the officers that the Russians would return them their arms, and would in conjunction with them, march against the Austrians, as the Russian Grand Duke Constantine would be King of Hungary. The officers had no intention to deceive the soldiers; they themselves believed the insinuations of Görgey.

Notwithstanding that this General had negotiated already for many weeks, this sudden surrender proved unexpected to the Russians themselves. They received the Hungarian officers with marked cordiality; they left them their swords, and entertained them splendily. The Russian General Rüdiger frequently invited Görgey, Kiss and the other generals to dinner. He sat next to them, and treated them as brethren in arms and as heroes, whilst he placed the Austrian officers, who chanced to come to the Russian army, at the lower end of his table.

The tidings of Görgey's surrender, of secret conditions, and the excellent treatment of the Hungarian officers, spread with the utmost rapidity. The other generals, to whom Görgey had written, summoning them to follow his example, trusted in his deceiving expressions, and laid down their arms one after the other. The first of them was Damianics at Arad, where he commanded the fortress, and still was confined to his couch in consequence of his broken leg. Then Count Vécsey, with ten thousand men, gave up unconditionally; he was followed by Colonel Kazinczy, and the Transylvanian corps; but these, less trustful than those whose example they imitated, positively stipulated for themselves and their troops—"the same conditions which were granted to Görgey." The betrayed still relied on the betrayer, and believed, that he had secured guarantees for the country, for his friends, and his soldiers. Many of the Hungarian representatives and commissaries, even Csányi the Ex-minister, went to the Russian camp, and gave themselves up. They saw that Kiss and Görgey were treated with the greatest distinction; that the Russian General Anrep had even intrusted his prisoner of war, the Hungarian General Lahner, with the duty of supplying provisions to the Russian troops, and conducted a correspondence with the Hungarian authorities. The Hungarians anticipated no artifice: they had not trusted to the Austrians—they trusted to the Russians![1] But the Austrians were furious that the Hungarians

[1] Görgey had declared in his letters to General Rüdiger, that he would rather fight till the last man was slain, than surrender to the Austrians.

had nowhere yielded to them, but everywhere to the Russians. Prince Lichtenstein therefore wrote to General Aristides Dessewffy, who still remained in arms, and who in former years had served with the Prince in Italy. He invited him with the warmest expressions of friendship, to surrender to his old comrade, who awaited him with open arms. Dessewffy, only for three months happily married—deemed his soldiers and himself perfectly secured, if he complied with the summons of a man who had formerly been his friend; so, with his troops, he made a considerable circuit, not to lay down arms to any one but to Prince Lichtenstein.

The Russians, however, forthwith delivered Arad to Haynau; and here suspicion of treason awoke, when Hazai, the editor of a journal, was shot, and Colonel Ormay, who had been aid-de-camp to Kossuth was hanged. In Pancsova, Mr. Lepier, a Major on half-pay, was shot, because he had remained mayor of the place during the sway of the Hungarians; in Temesvár, Major Murmann was hanged. But in spite of all this the officers of the Hungarian army still trusted the Russians, and pitied those, who with Kossuth, Mészáros, Perczel, and Guyon had fled to Turkey. They thought it natural that Bem, Dembinski, Visozki, and Monti, with the Polish and Italian legions, had resorted to those parts; but why should Hungarians become voluntary exiles, when they could stay in the country? Only a few of them left, when they still could have fled.

Whether Görgey saw the fate reserved for his friends, whether he had any notion of the terrible consequences of his deed—*who* can say? But it appears that he alternately entertained hope and apprehension, and that, in spite of his iron mind, he sometimes shuddered at himself, and then again imagined that his deed might have blessed consequences for Hungary. As if treachery could ever be justified by its results!

When body after body of the Hungarian troops, at Világos, drew up before the Russians, and silently laid down their arms without any surmise of the treachery, Görgey noticed at his side the young Reményi, scarcely eighteen years old, and a virtuoso on the violin. This youth had always been in the headquarters of Görgey, and often at the eve of a battle, or on the morn after the combat, with his sweet melodies enlivened the heart of many an officer, and, as a new David, dispelled the gloomy thoughts of the Hungarian chief. Görgey now called him, and inquired what he was going to do, and whether he was provided with money? Reményi replied, with the carelessness of a youth, "that with his violin he would fight his way through the world, but as to money he had none." Görgey emptied his pocket, gave all his gold to Reményi, untied some golden toys,

which were hanging on the chain of his watch, and said: "Take this, my lad, in remembrance of me!" As Reményi noticed amongst these trifling jewels a small silver key, he returned it to the General with the observation: "But this key you got from your wife; I cannot take it; my lady would be displeased if you gave away what you received from her as a keepsake." "Take it only—" said Görgey, "after what I have done to-day, my wife in no case will smile any more upon me!"

Some days afterwards, when the Russians conducted Görgey by Upper Hungary and Galicia into Moravia, there to be given up to the hands of the Austrians, he was in the vicinity of Tokaj recognised by the people. All thronged to his carriage, and asked: "What in fact would happen?" Görgey said: "As yet I may not speak; but in a few weeks all my story will be solved—and the country will bless me!"

It is difficult to read through the soul of a traitor, and to recognise the cases in which he is sincere; but it seems the Russians made him verbal promises, which afterwards were not fulfilled by the Austrians.

Two fortresses were still in the hands of the Hungarians. The commanders of Pétervárad and Komárom refused submission, in spite of Görgey's summons and the entreaties from other quarters to the same effect. General Kiss wrote from the Russian camp to General Klapka at Komárom. This letter expressed the perfect confidence of Kiss in a conciliatory future, and his conviction that an amnesty would certainly be granted as soon as Komárom should have surrendered. Pétervárad indeed at last gave way without stipulations, relying in the honour of the Austrian Generals. The garrison long refused to lay down their arms, but were over-persuaded by the officers.

The Generals in custody, who in the meantime had been delivered to the Austrians, were by them more strictly, yet decently, kept in Arad. Suddenly the news spread that Haynau wished to have them condemned to death; but Count Grünne, the aide-de-camp of the Emperor, was sent in great haste from Vienna to Arad, and prevented the execution. Haynau was already impatient for blood; but the Viennese ministers recommended management—Komárom had not yet surrendered.

In Hungary reliance in the Emperor's bounty was still entertained, in spite of the measure, by which already all the officers of the Hungarian army, even those who had never been in the Austrian service, were forced as private soldiers into the Austrian ranks, while all those, who previously had served, were arrested. All these proceed-

ings, however, were considered as only temporary, and but few had such misgivings about the fate which awaited them, as the Generals Damianics, Aulich, Count Leiningen, and Colonel Pulszky. They often told their companions, that the gallows was to be their doom.

At last also with Komárom the negotiations seemed tending to a capitulation. The garrison, after many deliberations, had consented to claim amnesty only for itself, and not for the whole country; as the Austrian negotiators declared, that a request of the garrison of Komárom would practically have the same effect, as such a stipulation, whilst the acceptance of a general amnesty, as a condition of the surrender of a fortress, would be incompatible with the dignity of the Emperor.

The prisoners at Arad were now tried by court-martial. All of them felt sure that they would be sentenced to death; but almost all believed, that a general pardon would nevertheless be granted. Colonel Pulszky gave them a supper on the eve of the trial by court-martial; and when they all retired to their prison-cells, he took a warmer leave from them than was his wont. The next morning he was found dead in his bed.

Klapka surrendered Komárom under honourable conditions, and the ministers in Vienna now thought the time had come, at which executions might be perpetrated in Hungary with impunity.

On the 6th of October, at dawn, four Generals were shot in Arad; Kiss, Dessewffy, Schweidel, and Torok. After them were hanged the Generals Aulich, Nagy Sándor, Lahner, Poltenberg, Knezich, Count Leiningen, Count Vécsey, Damianics, and the Colonel Lázár. These executions lasted from six till ten o'colck. The unhappy Generals were doomed to witness, how one after the other of their brave comrades were strangled; they however all died as heroes. They had faced death often enough, and knew that the gallows could not dishonour *them*, but was glorified by their martyrdom. Kiss, the hero of Perlasz, has been known for his coolness in the battle-field, and for his princely munificence in his castle. Field-Marshal Radeczki happened to be under great obligations to him; so, owing to this, he was shot instead of being hanged. Dessewffy, a cousin of my husband, had laid down arms only in consequence of the cordial letter of Prince Lichtenstein. The Prince, however, in whose friendship the Hungarian General had relied, was able to obtain for him no other mercy from Haynau, than the commutation of the rope into powder and lead. Török had, by a special order of the Emperor Ferdinand, been called from the Italian army where he was stationed, to become chief of the fortifications at Komárom, at the end of September, when Jellachich was already in the vicinity of Pest.

When Aulich was asked by the members of the court-martial, what he had to say in his defence, he answered: "In July 1848, by the order of the Emperor Ferdinand King of Hungary, I swore to the Hungarian constitution, and therefore have remained true to my oath. I prefer death to perjury." Lahner was less renowned than Damianics, Knezich, Leiningen, and Nagy Sándor, the brilliant heroes of Szolnok, Isaszeg, Nagy Sarló, Váez, and Komárom; but he had contributed as much, or perhaps even more, to the Hungarian victories than any one of the Generals. He had been at the head of the arsenals; he had erected the manufacture of arms, and had fitted out the army.

In truth, except when the Girondins fell under the hatchet of Robespierre, no day was equally stained by the execution of so many distinguished persons as the 6th of October, 1849.

On this very same day was shed in Pest the blood of one of the most noble martyrs of freedom and for his convictions. Count Louis Batthyányi was shot on the evening of that memorable day. Before the court-martial he ever had protested against its competence. He said: "As a Hungarian he ought to be tried by the Royal Table; as a Minister, by the House of Peers, that therefore he never would answer before an exceptional court."[1] The first court-martial could find no fault at all in him; but his death had been determined in Vienna; the second court-martial sentenced him to the gallows. The proud Magnate revolted at the idea of this mode of death. With a knife, which he succeeded in procuring, he wounded his throat, and thus rendered it physically impossible to be hanged; he was therefore shot. In spite of his considerable loss of blood, he marched with a firm step to the place of execution, cried out: "Eljen hazám!" (long live my country!) and fell pierced by three balls. A few days afterwards they hanged Sadielas Csányi, the Hungarian minister, the last of his ancient race; the venerable Baron Perényi, for years a highly-prized member of the highest Court of Justice, and President of the House of Peers in Debreczen;

[1] All exceptional courts were unlawful in Hungary. The following is the 56th article of the Statutes of 1790–91, "on the crime of treason and notorious breach of allegiance, sanctioned by the Emperor Leopold II., King of Hungary.

"At the humble request of the Estates and Orders, His Majesty willingly gives his benign consent, that for the future—excepted in the cases which have come forward before the enactment of this law, the crime of High Treason and notorious breach of allegiance *be not withdrawn from the ordinary tribunals of the kingdom, but be judged by the Royal Table*, without prejudice to legal appeal; and in the very crime of High Treason, let the confiscation of goods be restricted to that portion, which belongs to the delinquent, and again without prejudice to His Majesty's authority, to exert voluntary mercy, which remains unchanged in the 7th article of the year 1715."

Baron Jeszenák, Lord-Lieutenant of the county of Nyitra, Szacsvay the youthful and talented secretary of the Diet, the gallant Colonel Prince Woronieczki, and Major Abancourt, aides-de-camp of Dembinski, Giron, commander of the German legion, Fekete, the Guerilla leader, and Csernus, the member of the Treasury board. They all died calmly, like Roman Senators in the times of Tiberius. Csányi gave his coat to a poor man, who chanced to stand next him, and himself arranged the rope round his neck. Perényi, when the act of accusation against him was read, and he was called upon to defend himself, replied to the court-martial: "I have to complain that the accusation is incomplete: I request to add, that I was the first to press the resolution that the House of Hapsburg-Lorraine should be declared to have forfeited the throne of Hungary." Jeszenak's last words were: "I die tranquilly for my fatherland, and know that our deaths will be revenged!"

In consequence of these executions, many of the members of the Hungarian aristocracy, who during the struggle had retired to Austria, becoming passive lookers-on, and who, after the surrender at Világos, had accepted offices from the Austrian Government, now gave in their resignation and returned to their estates.

But in America and Europe, all parties and classes, the Russian Generals not excepted, expressed their horror at the terrible scenes of Arad and Pest, and their intense disapprobation of the ministers, who fancied that the constitutional throne of centralized Austria was to be supported by bayonets, scaffolds, and sanguinary hatred.

The Viennese ministry saw that it could not continue such a course, and began to apprehend that the executed men might in future prove to it even more dangerous than those who survived. The mode of proceeding, therefore, was altered. The gaze of Europe had flinched from the sight of the scaffold; dungeons were thought to be less painfully striking than the gallows! How few persons remember the "*carcere duro*" of Silvio Pellico! Such torture, therefore, was now deemed sufficient by the Viennese rulers. The Colonels of the Hungarian army, therefore, were sentenced to eighteen, the Majors to sixteen years' imprisonment, and all those who had taken part in the war were forced into the Austrian ranks under the serjeant's stick. Heavy fines and contributions were besides to fill the empty treasury, and to crush the proud Hungarian aristocracy, which had not upheld the interests of the Camarilla, but having nobly joined the cause of the people, had for this grand aim ungrudgingly staked blood and life. *Solitudinem faciunt, pacem, appellant!*

But neither were those who escaped the revenge of the Viennese ministry by their flight to Turkey, to be secure against persecution. Austria did not rest, until, notwithstanding the good offices of Eng-

land and France, and the fleet in the Dardanelles, it carried through its demand, based on no previous treaty: that Kossuth and his companions were to be put "*under surveillance*" in an Asiatic fortress. In that remote place, out of the reach of the animating influence of European interests, the Hungarian leaders are to be buried, at least until the tide of events shall have swept away the general sympathy justly felt for a country which struggled so bravely for her own laws, and was trampled under foot against all laws.

Against those fugitives, who, more fortunate than their countrymen, have arrived in England and France, the most odious calumnies have been systematically invented, and published by the official and half-official Austrian journals, in order to drown their voice, in case they should venture to speak. The wanton conqueror wishes to brand the conquered; but he cannot reach those whom the public feeling of justice protects, and the brand-mark does but stain his own hand.

As for Hungary, deep silence reigns there. Is it the stillness which is spread over the graveyard, or the oppressive heaviness which precedes the storm?

APPENDIX.

I.

ROYAL SANCTION TO THE LAWS PASSED BY THE DIET OF 1847-48, GIVEN APRIL 11, 1848, IN PRESENCE OF THE ARCHDUKES FRANCIS CHARLES, FRANCIS JOSEPH, AND STEPHEN, AND OF THE MAGNATES AND REPRESENTATIVES OF HUNGARY AND ITS DEPENDENCIES.

"HAVING graciously listened to, and graciously granted the prayers of our beloved and faithful Dignitaries of the Church and of the State, Magnates, and Nobles of Hungary and its Dependencies, we ordain that the before-mentioned laws be registered in these presents, word for word; and as we consider these laws and their entire contents both collectively and separately fitting and suitable, we give them our consent and approbation. In exercise of our royal will, we have accepted, adopted, approved and sanctioned them, assuring at the same time our faithful States, that we will respect the said laws, and will cause them to be respected by our faithful subjects.

(Signed) "FERDINAND.
(Countersigned) "BATTHYANYI."

II.

IMPERIAL MANIFESTO ANNOUNCING TO THE CROATIANS AND SCLAVONIANS THAT THE BAN, BARON JOSEPH JELLACHICH, IS SUSPENDED FROM ALL HIS DIGNITIES AND OFFICES.

WE, Ferdinand I., Emperor of Austria, as King of Hungary, Croatia, Dalmatia, Sclavonia, the Fifth, &c., we assure you, inhabitants of our kingdoms Croatia and Sclavonia, of our sovereign grace, and issue the following manifesto:

Croatians and Sclavonians!

Our paternal heart found warm satisfaction in the trust, that

whilst, in compliance with the wishes of our faithful nations, we extended the benefits of constitutional freedom over all our subjects, we thus bound the nations, entrusted by Providence to our care, to be grateful towards ourselves, and to adhere firmly to our throne. We trusted, at the same time, that the establishment of equal rights and liberties would encourage our people to brotherly union in the effort of general improvement, for which we had opened the largest field. With full reliance in these our intentions, we were painfully struck by the sad discovery that with you in particular our trustful expectations were frustrated.

With you, Croatians and Sclavonians! who, united to the crown of Hungary for eight centuries, shared all the fates of this country; you, Croatians and Sclavonians, who owe to this very union the constitutional freedom, which alone amongst all Sclavonic nations you have been enabled to preserve for centuries; we were doomed to be mistaken with you, who not only ever have shared in all the rights and liberties of the Hungarian constitution, but who besides—in just recompense of your loyalty, until now stainlessly preserved—were lawfully endowed with peculiar rights, privileges, and liberties, by the grace of our illustrious ancestors, and who, therefore, possess greater privileges than any whosoever of the subjects of our sacred Hungarian crown. We were mistaken in you, to whom the last Diet of the kingdom of Hungary and its dependencies, according to our own sovereign will, granted full part in all the benefits of the enlarged constitutional liberties, and equality of rights. The legislation of the crown of Hungary has abolished feudal servitude, as well with you as in Hungary; and those amongst you, who were subjected to the soccage, have without any sacrifice on their part become free proprietors. The landed proprietors receive for their loss, occasioned by the abolition of soccage, an indemnification, which you with your own means would be unable to provide. The indemnification granted on this account to your landed proprietors will be entailed on our Hungarian crown estates with our sovereign ratification, and without any charge to yourselves.

The right also of constitutional representation was extended to the people with you no less than in Hungary; in consequence of which no longer the nobility alone, but likewise other inhabitants and the Military Frontier, take part by their representatives in the legislation common to all, as much as in the municipal congregations. Thus you can improve your welfare by your immediate co-operation. Until now, the nobility contributed but little to the public expenses, henceforward the proportional repartition of the taxes amongst all inhabitants is lawfully established, whereby you have been delivered from an oppressive charge. Your nationality and municipal rights, relative to which ill-intentioned and malicious reports have been

spread with the aim of exciting your distrust, are by no means threatened. On the very contrary, both your nationality and your municipal rights are enlarged, and secured against any encroachment; as not only the use of your native language is lawfully guaranteed to you forever in your schools and churches, but it is likewise introduced in the public assemblies, where the Latin has been habitual until now.

Calumniators sought to make you believe that the Hungarian nation desired to suppress your language, or at least to prevent its further development. We ourselves assure you, that these reports are totally false, and that it is recognized with approbation, that you exert yourselves to develop and establish your own mother-tongue, renouncing the dead Latin language. The legislature is willing to support you in this effort, by providing adequately for your priests, to whom is entrusted the spiritual care of the soul, and the education of your children. For eight centuries you have been united to Hungary. During this whole time the legislature has ever dealt with due regard to your nationality. How could you, therefore, believe that the legislature, which has guarded your mother-tongue for eight centuries, should now bear a hostile aversion to it?

And notwithstanding all this, whereas the guarantee of your nationality, and the enlargement of your constitutional liberties, ought to have been greeted with ready acknowledgment, persons have been found amongst you, who instead of the thankfulness, love and loyalty, which they owe to ourselves, have unfolded the standard of fanatical distrust; who represent the Hungarians as your enemies, and who use every means to disunite the two nations, namely, the very same who persecuted your fellow-citizens, and by intimidation which endangered personal safety, forced them to leave their country, because they had attempted to enlighten you as to the real truth. Our deep concern relative to these excitements, was heightened by the solicitudes, lest perhaps the very man had given up himself to this ciriminal sedition, whom we have overwhelmed with tokens of our royal bounty, and whom we had appointed as guardian of the law and security in your country. Our deep concern was heightened by the apprehension, that this man, abusing the position to which he had been raised by our bounty, had not corrected the notions of the falsely informed citizens, as he should have done; but animated by party hatred, had still more inflamed the fanaticism; yes, unmindful of his oath as subject, had attempted encroachments against the union with Hungary, and, hereby, against the integrity of our holy Crown and our Royal Dignity.

Formerly, in Hungary and its dependencies we administered the executive powers by our Hungarian Chancery and Home-Office, and in military concerns, by our Council of War. To the orders issued

in this way, the Bans of Croatia, Dalmatia and Sclavonia were obedient, just as they were bound, in more remote times, to obey the orders of our Hungarian authorities, issued in a different manner and in different forms, according to the mode of administering our executive power arranged by the Diet with our ratification.

In consequence of the request addressed to us by our faithful States, and guided by our own free will, in the last Hungarian Diet we graciously sanctioned the law, according to which our beloved cousin, his Imperial Highness the Archduke Stephen, Palatine of Hungary, was, during our absence from Hungary, declared our Royal Lieutenant, who as such had to administer the executive power by the hands of our Hungarian Ministry, which we simultaneously had appointed, entrusting it with all authority, which had rested before with the Royal Chancery, the Home-Office, the Treasury and the Council of War.

In spite of this, Baron Joseph Jellachich, whom we graciously favoured with the appointment of Ban of our kingdoms of Croatia, Dalmatia and Sclavonia, is accused as having the temerity to refuse this due obedience.

We, the King of Hungary, Croatia, Sclavonia and Dalmatia, we, whose person is sacred to you, we tell you, Croatians and Sclavonians, the law too is sacred, and must be considered so! *We have sworn to the Eternal King of all Kings, that we ourselves shall preserve the integrity of our Hungarian Crown, and of our Constitution, and that we will no less ourselves obey the law, than we will have it obeyed by others.*

We will keep our royal oath. We are gracious to our loyal subjects, forbearing to the guilty who repent, but inexorably severe towards stubborn traitors. And we shall give over to avenging Justice those who dare presumptuously to trifle with our royal oath. He who revolts against the law, revolts against our Royal Throne, which rests upon the law, and Baron Jellachich is accused, with his notorious adherents, of not only opposing the law, but persisting in his disobedience, regardless of the fatherly exhortations which we have addressed to him.

The first care of our beloved cousin, the Archduke Palatine, and of our Hungarian Ministry was, to call upon Baron Jellachich to explain himself in respect to your nationality, your rights, and your liberties; so that, as soon as possible—besides other measures—the Croatian Congregation might be assembled, and those laws might thus be published, whose blessings we never intended to withhold from you, and that after this the Ban should be publicly invested with his dignity; since before this installation he could not be considered as a legitimate office-holder.

Notwithstanding our repeated orders to Baron Jellachich to com-

ply with the summons of our Royal Lieutenant, and our Hungarian Ministry, the Baron is accused of having disobeyed, and of having by this disobedience exposed you to the dangers of anarchy. But as though it were not enough that the Ban himself did not obey, he is accused of having called the lawful authorities to the same disobedience, and of having *forced* them, no less than the people itself, *by violent means*, to hostile domonstrations against Hungary.

All of you must have witnessed the acts of which he is accused; all of you must have seen if he persecuted those, who wanted to keep the union of Croatia with Hungary unimpaired, if he deposed them arbitrarily from their offices, if he brought a trial by Court-martial upon all those, who did not do homage to his political views, and by this means compelled many families to flight and emigration. All of you must have seen if the Ban prevented the lawfully-appointed Lord-Lieutenants from entering upon their duties; if he violently seized the funds belonging to the Treasury, and even employed our own troops to achieve this arbitrary deed.

You must know if, without the Diet, at his own will, he charged you with new taxes, *and without any authority* strove to force the people to take up arms,—an act which we ourselves cannot authorize without the consent of the legislative power. You must be able to evince, if he allowed, that his notorious adherents incited the people by tales and false reports relative to the Hungarians, as if they threatened your nationality; if he allowed, that sedition was preached in illegal assemblies against the Hungarians, that arbitrary appointments were made; yes, that in consequence of the excitement occasioned by these proceedings, bloody conflicts, and plunder, and murder have taken place in Hungary. You know the personal affront which has been perpetrated under the very eyes of the Ban, against an illustrious member of our Royal House, against our Royal Lieutenant, the Archduke Palatine, in the public place of Zágráb,[1]—a town which of late has repeatedly been the scene of illegalities. You must know it, if the Ban punished the perpetrators of such deeds. It cannot be unknown to you, if he really refused obedience to our Royal Commissary, Baron Hrabovszky,[2] our Privy Councillor, and Lieutenant Field-Marshal, who has been appointed to re-establish public order and security.

Moved by fatherly care for the welfare of our perhaps misled subjects, we tried the last means—to grant opportunity of personal defence to the accused, before we lent an ear to the complaints

[1] The portrait of the Archduke Palatine, in the spring of 1848, was publicly burnt in Zágráb (Agram), under the windows of the Ban Jellachich, who did nothing to prevent or to punish this disorder.

[2] Baron Hrabovszky was arrested by the Austrian authorities at the entrance of Windischgrätz in Pest, and is still under trial.

against him. We summoned Baron Jellachich, by our own autograph order, to retract the Croatian Congregation, which, without our sanction, and, therefore, in defiance of the law, he has illegally convoked for the 5th of June of this year; and we ordered him to appear personally before ourselves, in order to effect the conciliation which is needed for re-establishing order in Croatia.

But Jellachich has as little obeyed this our present command, as our former regulations, and has neither retracted the Congregation nor has he appeared before ourselves, at the appointed time. Thus stubborn perseverance in disobeying our own sovereign command was added to so many complaints against Baron Jellachich. No other means was left, to relieve our royal authority from the injury of such behaviour, and to uphold the laws, than to send our faithful Privy Councillor, Lieutenant Field-Marshal Hrabovszky, as our Royal Commissary, to investigate those unlawful proceedings, and to open a law-suit against Baron Jellachich, and his possible accomplices; and lastly, *to deprive Baron Jellachich, until his perfect clearance, of all his dignities as Ban, and of all his military offices.* I sternly exhort you to renounce all participation in seditions, which aim at a separation from our Hungarian Crown, and under the same penalty I command all authorities to break off immediately all intercourse with Baron Jellachich, and those who may be implied in the accusations against him, and to comply unconditionally with the orders of our Royal Commissary.

Croatians and Sclavonians! We guarantee your nationality and your liberties, and the fulfilment of your just requests with our royal word; therefore do not believe any seducing insinuations, with which one aims to misuse you for attaining unlawful ends, by which your country is to be given up to oppression and infinite misery.

Listen to the well-wishing voice of your King addressing you, as many as still are his faithful Croats and Sclavonians.

Herewith we summon every one to publish and spread this Manifesto, according to his loyalty to our sovereign authority.

Given in our town of Innspruck the 10th day of June, 1848.

FERDINAND.

III.

ROYAL SPEECH READ BY ARCHDUKE STEPHEN, PALATINE AND ROYAL LIEUTENANT OF HUNGARY, IN THE NAME OF THE EMPEROR FERDINAND, KING OF HUNGARY, AT THE OPENING OF THE HUNGARIAN DIET, JULY 8, 1848.

In the name, and as representative of our glorious reigning King, Ferdinand V., I hereby open the present Diet. The extraordinary circumstances in which the country has been placed, make it necessary to summon at once a meeting of the Diet, without waiting for the completion in detail of all the propositions and administrative measures which the responsible Ministers of the Crown were charged and directed by the past Diet to prepare and complete. Croatia rose in undisguised sedition; in the districts of the Lower Danube, bands of armed rebels have broken the peace of the country, and while *it is the sincere wish of his Majesty to avoid a civil war*, his Majesty is, on the other hand, convinced that the assembled representatives of the nation will regard it *as their first and chief duty to provide all the means required to restore the troubled tranquillity of the country*, to preserve the integrity of the Hungarian realm, and maintain the sacred inviolability of the law. The *defence of the country* and *the state of the finances* will therefore form the chief subject towards which, under these extraordinary circumstances, I call the attention of the assembled representatives. His Majesty's responsible ministers will submit to you propositions relating to these points. His Majesty entertains the confident hope that the representatives of the nation will adopt speedy and appropriate decisions upon all matters connected with the safety and welfare of the country.

His Majesty has learned with deep feelings of regret and displeasure,—although he in his hearty paternal desire for the happiness of this country, *following solely the impulse of his own desire, sanctioned during the last Diet*, by giving to them the royal assent, *those laws which were necessary to the progress of the country to prosperity* under the demands of the time,—yet that, especially in Croatia and on the Lower Danube, evil disposed rebellious agitators have excited the inhabitants of those countries, speaking different languages and holding different creeds, with false reports and terrorism to mutual hostility, and have driven them, under the calumnious representation that those laws were not then sanctioned out of the free-will of his Majesty, to oppose the ordinances of those laws and

the legal authorities—that some even have gone so far in rebellion as to announce that their violent resistance to those decrees is for the good of the royal house, and takes place with the knowledge of his Majesty.

For the tranquillization of the inhabitants of those districts, of all tongues and creeds, I therefore hereby declare, under the special commission of his most gracious Majesty our lord the King, in his name and as his representative, that his Majesty is firmly resolved to maintain intact, by his royal power, the integrity and inviolability of his crown against all attacks from without, and against all discord within the realm, and to assert and enforce at all times the laws he shall have sanctioned. And as his Majesty will allow no one to curtail the freedom assured by the laws to the inhabitants of the country, his Majesty expresses his displeasure with the daring conduct of all those who venture to assert that any illegal act or disobedience shown to the law can have taken place with his Majesty's knowledge or in the interest of his royal house.

The Union of Transylvania with Hungary was sanctioned by his majesty, in part because he by that step fulfilled the earnest desire of his dearly beloved Hungarian and Transylvanian people, but also because the united countries will in future form a firmer support to the throne and to freedom. His majesty's ministers for Hungary will submit all the details respecting this already-accomplished union, which remain for the consideration of the legislative body.

With regard to foreign affairs; in the Lombardo-Venetian kingdom, where the hostile troops of the King of Sardinia and of other Italian powers have attacked the army of his Majesty, the war has not yet been brought to a close. With the other foreign powers, the peaceable relations have remained inviolate, and his Majesty has the less doubt of their being maintained as he reckons it to be the highest duty of his government to neglect nothing which, without injury to the dignity of the throne, and the safety of his loyal subjects and their legitimate interests, may confirm a peaceable understanding with foreign powers; and his majesty has a right to hope that, as he adheres to the principles of neutrality as regards the internal affairs of other countries, this neutrality will be responded to on the part of foreign countries in equal measure. His Majesty does not doubt that the Diet, in the combined interests of the throne and of constitutional freedom, will order, without delay, all that the welfare of the country so urgently demands.

I only fulfil the demands of his Majesty, when I assure the Diet and the whole loyal nation of the gracious disposition entertained towards them by our illustrious lord, the King.

IV.

MANIFESTO APPOINTING BARON JOSEPH JELLACHICH ROYAL LIEUTENANT AND CIVIL AND MILITARY COMMISSARY OF HUNGARY.

We, Ferdinand I., Constitutional Emperor of Austria, &c., King of Hungary, Croatia, Sclavonia, Dalmatia the Vth of this name, to the Barons, to the High-Dignitaries of the Church and State, to the Magnates and Representatives of Hungary, its dependencies, and the Grand Duchy of Transylvania, who are assembled at the Diet, convoked by ourselves in our free and royal town of Pest, our greeting.

To our deep concern and indignation the House of Representatives has been seduced by Kossuth and his adherents to great illegalities; it has even carried out several illegal resolutions against our royal will, and has lately, on the 27th of September issued a resolution against the commission of the Royal Commissary, our Lieutenant Field-Marshal, Count Francis Lamberg, appointed by ourselves to re-establish peace. In consequence of which, this our Royal Commissary, before he could even produce his commission, was in the public street violently attacked by the furious mob, which murdered him in the most atrocious manner. Under these circumstances, we see ourselves compelled, according to our royal duty, for the maintenance of the security and the law, to take the following measures, and to command their enforcement:—

First. We dissolve the Diet by this our decree; so that after the publication of our present Sovereign Rescript, the Diet has immediately to close its Sessions.

Secondly. We declare as illegal, void, and invalid all the resolutions, and the measures of the Diet, which we have not sanctioned.

Thirdly. All troops, and armed bodies of every kind, whether national guards, or volunteers, which are stationed in Hungary, and its dependencies, as well as in Transylvania, are placed by this our decree, under the chief command of our Ban of Croatia, Sclavonia and Dalmatia, Lieutenant Field-Marshal Baron Joseph Jellachich.

Fourthly. Until the disturbed peace and order in the country shall be restored, the Kingdom of Hungary shall be subjected to martial law; in consequence of which, the respective authorities are meanwhile to abstain from the celebration of congregations, whether of the counties, of the municipalities, or of the districts.

Fifthly. Our Ban of Croatia, Sclavonia and Dalmatia, Baron

Joseph Jellachich, is hereby invested and empowered as Commissary of our Royal Majesty; and we give him full power and force, that he may, in the sphere of Executive Ministry, exercise the authority, with which as Lieutenant of our Royal Majesty, we have invested him in the present extraordinary circumstances.

In consequence of this our Sovereign plenipotence, we declare that whatsoever the Ban of Croatia shall order, regulate, determine and command, is to be considered as ordered, regulated, determined and commanded by our royal authority. In consequence of which, we likewise by this graciously give command to all our ecclesiastical, civil and military authorities, officers, and High Dignitaries of our Kingdom of Hungary, its dependencies, and Transylvania, as also to all their inhabitants, that all the orders signed by Baron Jellachich as our empowered Royal Commissary, shall be by them obeyed, and enforced, in the same way as they are bound to obey our Royal Majesty.

Sixthly. We peculiarly enjoin our Royal Commissary to take care that the assailants and murderers of our Royal Commissary, Count Lamberg, as well as the authors and participators of this revolting and shameful action, shall be visited with the full severity of the law.

Seventhly. The remaining current business of the civil administration shall, meanwhile, be transacted by the officers of the ministerial departments, according to the regulations of the laws.

It will be established besides, in the lawful way after consulting the representative of all parts of our realms, in what way the preservation of the Unity and the direction of the common interests of the whole Monarchy, can be lastingly re-established in future; in what way the equality of rights of all nationalities can be guaranteed for ever, and how the reciprocal relations of all the countries and nations, united under Our Crown, are on this basis to be ordained.

Given at Schönbrunn, the 3d of October, 1848.

(Signed) FERDINAND.
(Countersigned) ADAM RECSEY,
Minister President.

V.

DECLARATION RELATIVE TO THE SEPARATION OF HUNGARY FROM AUSTRIA.

WE, the legally-constituted representatives of the Hungarian nation assembled in Diet, do by these presents solemnly proclaim,

in maintenance of the inalienable natural rights of Hungary, with all its dependencies, to occupy the position of an independent European State—that the House of Hapsburg-Lorraine, as perjured in the sight of God and man, has forfeited its right to the Hungarian throne. At the same time, we feel ourselves bound in duty to make known the motives and reasons which have impelled us to this decision, that the civilized world may learn we have taken this step not out of overweening confidence in our own wisdom, or out of revolutionary excitement, but that it is an act of the last necessity, adopted to preserve from utter destruction a nation persecuted to the limit of the most enduring patience.

Three hundred years have passed since the Hungarian nation, by free election, placed the House of Austria upon its throne, in accordance with stipulations made on both sides, and ratified by treaty. These three hundred years have been, for the country, a period of uninterrupted suffering.

The Creator has blessed this country with all the elements of wealth and happiness. Its area of 100,000 square miles presents in varied profusion innumerable sources of prosperity. Its population, numbering nearly fifteen millions, feels the glow of youthful strength within its veins, and has shown temper and docility which warrant its proving at once the main organ of civilization in Eastern Europe, and the guardian of that civilization when attacked. Never was a more grateful task appointed to a reigning dynasty by the dispensation of Providence than that which devolved upon the House of Hapsburg-Lorraine. It would have sufficed to do nothing that could impede the development of the country. Had this been the rule observed, Hungary would now rank amongst the most prosperous nations. It was only necessary that it should not envy the Hungarians the moderate share of constitutional liberty which they timidly maintained during the difficulties of a thousand years with rare fidelity to their sovereigns, and the House of Hapsburg might long have counted this nation amongst the most faithful adherents of the throne.

This dynasty, however, which can at no epoch point to a ruler who based his power on the freedom of the people, adopted a course towards this nation, from father to son, which deserves the appellation of perjury.

The House of Austria has publicly used every effort to deprive the country of its legitimate independence and constitution, designing to reduce it to a level with the other provinces long since deprived of all freedom, and to unite all in a common link of slavery. Foiled in this effort by the untiring vigilance of the nation, it directed its endeavour to lame the power, to check the progress of Hungary, causing it to minister to the gain of the provinces of

Austria, but only to the extent which enabled those provinces to bear the load of taxation with which the prodigality of the imperial house weighed them down; having first deprived those provinces of all constitutional means of remonstrating against a policy which was not based upon the welfare of the subject, but solely tended to maintain despotism and crush liberty in every country of Europe.

It has frequently happened that the Hungarian nation, in spite of this systematized tyranny, has been obliged to take up arms in self-defence. Although constantly victorious in these constitutional struggles, yet so moderate has the nation ever been in its use of the victory, so strongly has it confided in the King's plighted word, that it has ever laid down arms as soon as the King by new compacts and fresh oaths has guaranteed the duration of its rights and liberty. But every new compact was futile as those which preceded it; each oath which fell from the royal lips was but a renewal of previous perjuries. The policy of the House of Austria, which aimed at destroying the independence of Hungary as a state, has been pursued unaltered for three hundred years.

It was in vain that the Hungarian nation shed its blood for the deliverance of Austria whenever it was in danger; vain were all the sacrifices which it made to serve the interests of the reigning house; in vain did it, on the renewal of the royal promises, forget the wounds which the past had inflicted; vain was the fidelity cherished by the Hungarians for their king, and which, in moments of danger, assumed a character of devotion;—they were in vain, because the history of the government of that dynasty in Hungary presents but an unbroken series of perjured deeds from generation to generation.

In spite of such treatment, the Hungarian nation has all along respected the tie by which it was united to this dynasty; and in now decreeing its expulsion from the throne, it acts under the natural law of self-preservation, being driven to pronounce this sentence by the full conviction that the House of Hapsburg-Lorraine is compassing the destruction of Hungary as an independent state; so that this dynasty has been the first to tear the bands by which it was united to the Hungarian nation, and to confess that it had torn them in the face of Europe. For many causes a nation is justified, before God and man, in expelling a reigning dynasty. Amongst such are the following:—

When it forms alliances with the enemies of the country, with robbers, or partisan chieftains, to oppress the nation; when it attempts to annihilate the independence of the country and its constitution, sanctioned by oaths, attacking with an armed force the people who have committed no act of revolt; when the integrity of a country which the sovereign has sworn to maintain is violated, and its

power diminished; when foreign armies are employed to murder the people, and to oppress their liberties.

Each of the grounds here enumerated would justify the exclusion of a dynasty from the throne. But the House of Lorraine-Hapsburg is unexampled in the compass of its perjuries, and has committed every one of these crimes against the nation; and its determination to extinguish the independence of Hungary has been accompanied with a succession of criminal acts, comprising robbery, destruction of property by fire, murder, maiming, and personal ill-treatment of all kinds, besides setting the laws of the country at defiance, so that humanity will shudder when reading this disgraceful page of history.

The main impulse to this recent unjustifiable course was the passing of the laws adopted in the spring of 1848 for the better protection of the constitution of the country. These laws provided reforms in the internal government of the country, by which the commutation of servile services and of the tithe were decreed; a fair representation guaranteed to the people in the Diet, the constitution of which was, before that, exclusively aristocratical; equality before the law proclaimed; the privilege of exemption from taxation abolished; freedom of the press pronounced; and, to stem the torrent of abuses, trial by jury established, with other improvements. Notwithstanding that troubles broke out in every province of the Austrian empire, as a consequence of the French February Revolution, and the reigning dynasty was left without support, the Hungarian nation was too generous at such a moment to demand more privileges, and contented itself with enforcing the administration of its old rights upon a system of ministerial responsibility, and with maintaining them and the independence of the country against the often renewed and perjured attempts of the crown. These rights, and the independence sought to be maintained, were, however, no new acquisition, but were what the king, by his oath, and according to law, was bound to keep up, and which had not in the slightest degree been affected by the relation in which Hungary stood to the provinces of the empire.

In point of fact, Hungary and Transylvania, with all their possessions and dependencies, never were incorporated into the Austrian empire, but formed a separate independent kingdom, even after the adoption of the Pragmatic Sanction by which the same law of succession was adopted for Hungary which obtained in the other countries and provinces.

The clearest proof of this legal fact is furnished by the law incorporated into the act of the Pragmatic Sanction, and which stipulates that the territory of Hungary and its dependencies, as well as its independence, self-government, constitution, and privileges, shall remain inviolate and specially guaranteed.

Another proof is contained in the stipulation of the Pragmatic Sanction, according to which the heir of the crown only becomes legally king of Hungary upon the conclusion of a coronation treaty with the nation, and upon his swearing to maintain the constitution and the laws of the country, whereupon he is to be crowned with the crown of St. Stephen. The act signed at the coronation contains the stipulation that all laws, privileges, and the entire constitution, shall be observed, together with the order of succession. Only one sovereign since the adoption of the Pragmatic Sanction refused to enter into the coronation compact, and swear to the constitution. This was Joseph II., who died without being crowned, but for that reason his name is not recorded amongst the kings of Hungary, and all his acts are considered illegal, null and void. His successor, Leopold II., was obliged, before ascending the Hungarian throne, to enter into the coronation compact, to take the oath, and to let himself be crowned. On this occasion it was distinctly declared in Art. 10, 1790, sanctioned upon oath by the king, that Hungary was a free and independent country with regard to its government, and not subordinate to any other state or people whatever, consequently that it was to be governed by its own customs and laws.

The same oath was taken by Francis I., who came to the throne in the year 1792. On the extinction of the imperial dignity in Germany, and the foundation of the Austrian empire, this emperor, who allowed himself to violate the law in innumerable instances, had still sufficient respect for his oath, publicly to avow that Hungary formed no portion of the Austrian empire. For this reason Hungary was separated from the rest of the Austrian states by a chain of custom guards along the whole frontier, which still continues.

The same oath was taken on his accession to the throne by Ferdinand V., who, at the Diet held at Pressburg last year, of his own free-will, sanctioned the laws that were passed, but who, soon after, breaking that oath, entered into a conspiracy with the other members of his family with the intent of erasing Hungary from the list of independent nations.

Still the Hungarian nation preserved with useless piety its loyalty to its perjured sovereign, and during March last year, while the empire was on the brink of destruction, while its armies in Italy suffered one defeat after another, and he in his Imperial palace had to fear at any moment that he might be driven from it; Hungary did not take advantage of so favourable a moment to make increased demands; it only asked that its constitution might be guaranteed, and abuses rectified—a constitution, to maintain which fourteen kings of the Austrian dynasty had sworn a solemn oath, which every one of them had broken.

When the king undertook to guarantee those ancient rights, and gave his sanction to the establishment of a responsible ministry, the Hungarian nation flew enthusiastically to his support, and rallied its might around his tottering throne. At that eventful crisis, as at so many others, the house of Austria was saved by the fidelity of the Hungarians.

Scarcely, however, had this oath fallen from his lips when he conspired anew with his family, the accomplices of his crime, to compass the destruction of the Hungarian nation. This conspiracy did not take place on the ground that any new privileges were conceded by the recent laws which diminished the royal authority. From what has been said, it is clear that no such demands were made. The conspiracy was founded to get rid of the responsible ministry, which made it impossible for the Vienna cabinet to treat the Hungarian constitution any longer as a nullity.

In former times a governing council, under the name of the Royal Hungarian Stadtholdership (Consilium Locum-tenentiale Hungaricum), the president of which was the Palatine, held its seat at Buda, whose sacred duty it was to watch over the integrity of the state, the inviolability of the constitution, and the sanctity of the laws; but this collegiate authority not presenting any element of personal responsibility, the Vienna cabinet gradually degraded this council to the position of an administrative organ of court absolutism. In this manner, while Hungary had ostensibly an independent government, the despotic Vienna cabinet disposed at will of the money and blood of the people for foreign purposes, postponing its trading interests to the success of courtly cabals, injurious to the welfare of the people, so that we were excluded from all connexion with the other countries of the world, and were degraded to the position of a colony. The mode of governing by a ministry was intended to put a stop to these proceedings, which caused the rights of the country to moulder uselessly in its parchments; by the change, these rights and the royal oath were both to become a reality. It was the apprehension of this, and especially the fear of losing its control over the money and blood of the country, which caused the House of Austria to determine to involve Hungary, by the foulest intrigues, in the horrors of fire and slaughter, that, having plunged the country in a civil war, it might seize the opportunity to dismember the lands, and blot out the name of Hungary from the list of independent nations, and unite its plundered and bleeding limbs with the Austrian monarchy.

The beginning of this course was by issuing orders during the existence of the ministry, directing an Austrian general to rise in rebellion against the laws of the country, and by nominating the same general Ban of Croatia, a kingdom belonging to the kingdom

of Hungary. Croatia and Sclavonia were chosen as the seat of military operations in this rebellion, because the military organization of a portion of those countries promised to present the greatest number of disposable troops; it was also thought, that since a portion of those countries had for centuries been excluded from the enjoyment of constitutional rights, and subjected to a military organization in the name of the emperor, they would easily be induced to rise at his bidding.

Croatia and Sclavonia were chosen to begin this rebellion, because, in those countries, the inhuman policy of Prince Metternich had, with a view to the weakening of all parties, for years cherished hatred against the Hungarian nation. By exciting, in every possible manner the most unfounded national jealousies, and by employing the most disgraceful means, he had succeeded in inflaming a party with rage, although the Hungarians, far from desiring to oppress the Croatians, allowed the most unrestrained development to the provincial institutions of Croatia, and shared with their Croatian and Sclavonian brethren their political rights; even going the length of sacrificing some of their own rights, by acknowledging special privileges and immunities in those dependencies.

The Ban revolted, therefore, in the name of the Emperor, and rebelled, openly, against the King of Hungary, who is, however, one and the same person; and he went so far as to decree the separation of Croatia and Sclavonia from Hungary, with which they had been united for eight hundred years, as well as to incorporate them with the Austrian empire. Public opinion, and undoubted facts threw the blame of these proceedings on the Archduke Louis, uncle to the Emperor, on his brother, the Archduke, Francis Charles, and especially on the consort of the last-named prince, the Archduchess Sophia; and, since the Ban, in this act of rebellion, openly alleged that he acted as a faithful subject of the Emperor, the ministry of Hungary requested their sovereign, by a public declaration, to wipe off the stigma which these proceedings threw upon the family. At that moment affairs were not prosperous for Austria in Italy; the Emperor, therefore, did proclaim that the Ban and his associates were guilty of high treason, and of exciting to rebellion. But, at the same time that this edict was published, the Ban and his accomplices were covered with favours at Court, and supplied, for their enterprise, with money, arms, and ammunition. The Hungarians, confiding in the royal proclamation, and not wishing to provoke a civil conflict, did not hunt out those proscribed traitors in their lair, and only adopted measures for checking any extension of the rebellion. But soon afterwards, the inhabitants of South Hungary, of Servian race, were excited to rebellion by precisely the same means.

These were also declared, by the King, to be rebels, but were,

nevertheless, like the others, supplied with money, arms, and ammunition. The King's commissioned officer and civil servants enlisted bands of robbers, in the Principality of Servia, to strengthen the rebels, and aid them in massacreing the peaceable Hungarian and German inhabitants of the Banat. The command of these rebellious bodies was further intrusted to the rebel leaders of the Croatians.

During this rebellion of the Hungarian Servians, scenes of cruelty were witnessed at which the heart shudders. Whole towns and villages, once flourishing, were laid waste, Hungarians, fleeing before these murderers, were reduced to the condition of vagrants and beggars in their own country; the most lovely districts were converted into a wilderness.

Thus were the Hungarians driven to self-defence; but the Austrian Cabinet had dispatched, some time previously, the bravest portion of the national troops to Italy, to oppress the kingdoms of Lombardy and Venice; notwithstanding that our county was, at home, bleeding from a thousand wounds, still she had allowed them to leave for the defence of Austria. The greater part of the Hungarian regiments were, according to the old system of government, scattered through the other provinces of the empire. In Hungary itself, the troops quartered were mostly Austrian, and they afforded more protection to the rebels than to the laws, or to the internal peace of the country.

The withdrawal of these troops, and the return of the national militia was demanded of the Government, but was either refused or its fulfilment delayed; and when our brave comrades, on hearing the distress of the country, returned in masses, they were persecuted, and such as were obliged to yield to superior force were disarmed and sentenced to death, for having defended their country against rebels.

The Hungarian ministry begged the King earnestly to issue orders to all troops and commanders of fortresses in Hungary, enjoining fidelity to the constitution, and obedience to the ministers of Hungary. Such a proclamation was sent to the Palatine, the Viceroy of Hungary, Archduke Stephen, at Buda. The necessary letters were written and sent to the Post-office. But this nephew of the King, the Archduke Palatine, shamelessly caused these letters to be smuggled back from the Post-office, although they had been countersigned by the responsible ministers, and they were afterwards found amongst his papers, when he treacherously departed from the country.

The rebel Ban menaced the Hungarian coast with an attack, and the Government, with the King's consent, ordered an armed corps to march through Styria for the defence of Fiume; but this whole

force received orders to march into Italy. Yet such glaring treachery was not disavowed by the Vienna Cabinet.

The rebel force occupied Fiume, and disunited it from the kingdom of Hungary, and this irruption was disavowed by the Vienna Cabinet, as having been a misunderstanding; the furnishing of arms, ammunition, and money to the rebels of Croatia was also declared to have been a misunderstanding. Instructions were issued to the effect, that unless special orders were given, the army and the commanders of fortresses were not to follow the orders of the Hungarian ministers, but were to execute the orders of the Austrian Cabinet.

Finally, to reap the fruit of so much perfidy, the Emperor Francis Joseph dared to call himself King of Hungary in the manifesto of 9th March, wherein he openly declares that he erases the Hungarian nation from the list of the independent nations of Europe, and that he divided its territory into five parts, dividing Transylvania, Croatia, Sclavonia, and Fiume from Hungary, creating at the same time a principality for the Servian rebels (the Koirodina), and having paralyzed the political existence of the country, declared it incorporate into the Austrian monarchy.

Never was so disgraceful a line of policy followed towards a nation. Hungary, unprepared with money, arms and troops, and not expecting to be called on to make resistance, was entangled in a net of treachery, and was obliged to defend itself against the threatened annihilation with the aid of volunteers, national guards, and an undisciplined unarmed levy, "en masse," aided by the few regular troops which remained in the country. In open battles the Hungarian have, however, been successful, but they could not rapidly enough put down the Servian rebels, and those of the military frontier, who were led by officers devoted to Austria, and were enabled to take refuge behind entrenched positions.

It was necessary to provide a new armed force. The King, still pretending to yield to the undeniably lawful demands of the nation, had summoned a new Diet for the 2d of July, 1848, and had called upon the representatives of the nation to provide soldiers and money for the suppression of the Servian and Croatian rebellion, and the re-establishment of public peace. He at the same time issued a solemn proclamation in his own name, and in that of his family, condemning and denouncing the Croatian and Servian rebellion. The necessary steps were taken by the Diet. A levy of 200,000 men, and a subsidy of 40,000,000 of florins were voted as the necessary force, and the bills were laid before the King for the royal sanction. At the same moment the Hungarians gave an unexampled proof of their loyalty, by inviting the King, who had fled to

Innspruck, to go to Pest, and by his presence tranquillize the people, trusting to the loyalty of the Hungarians, who had shown themselves at all times the best supports of the throne.

This request was proffered in vain, for Radetzky had in the meantime been victorious in Italy. The house of Hapsburg-Lorraine, restored to confidence by that victory, thought the time come to take off the mask and to involve Hungary, still bleeding from past wounds, in the horrors of a fresh war of oppression. The King from that moment began to address the man whom he himself had branded as a rebel, as "dear and loyal" (Lieber Getreuer); he praised him for having revolted, and encouraged him to proceed in the path he had entered upon.

He expressed a like sympathy for the Servian rebels, whose hands yet reeked from the massacres they had perpetrated. It was under this command that the Ban of Croatia, after being proclaimed as a rebel, assembled an army, and announced his commission from the King to carry fire and sword into Hungary, upon which the Austrian troops stationed in the country united with him. The commanders of the fortresses, Esseg, Temeswar and Karlsburg, and the commanders of the forces in the Banat and in Transylvania, breaking their oaths taken to the country, treacherously surrendered their trusts; a Slovack clergyman with the commission of colonel, who had fraternized at Vienna with the revolted Czechs, broke into Hungary, and the rebel Croat leader advanced with confidence, through an unprepared country, to occupy its capital, expecting that the army in Hungary would not oppose him.

Even then the Diet did not give up all confidence in the power of the royal oath, and the King was once more requested to order the rebels to quit the country. The answer given was a reference to a manifesto of the Austrian ministry, declaring it to be their determination to deprive the Hungarian nation of the independent management of their financial, commercial, and war affairs. The King at the same time refused his assent to the laws submitted for approval respecting the troops and the subsidy for covering the expenditure.

Upon this the Hungarian ministers resigned, but the names submitted by the President of the Council, at the demand of the King, were not approved of for successors. The Diet then, bound by its duty to secure the interests of the country, voted the supplies, and ordered the troops to be levied. The nation obeyed the summons with readiness.

The representatives of the people then summoned the nephew of the Emperor to join the camp, and as Palatine to lead the troops against the rebels. He not only obeyed the summons, but made public professions of his devotion to the cause. As soon, however,

as an engagement threatened, he fled secretly from the camp and the country like a coward traitor. Amongst his papers a plan formed by him some time previously was found, according to which Hungary was to be simultaneously attacked on nine sides at once—from Styria, Austria, Moravia, Silesia, Galicia, and Transylvania.

From a correspondence with the Minister of War, seized at the same time, it was discovered that the commanding generals in the military frontier and the Austrian provinces adjoining Hungary had received orders to enter Hungary, and to support the rebels with their united forces.

The attack from nine points at once really began. The most painful aggression took place in Transylvania, for the traitorous commander in that district did not content himself with the practices considered lawful in war by disciplined troops. He stirred up the Wallachian peasants to take arms against their own constitutional rights, and, aided by the rebellious Servian hordes, commenced a course of Vandalism and extinction, sparing neither women, children, nor aged men; murdering and torturing the defenceless Hungarian inhabitants; burning the most flourishing villages and towns, amongst which, Nagy-Enyed, the seat of learning for Transylvania, was reduced to a heap of ruins.

But the Hungarian nation, although taken by surprise, unarmed and unprepared, did not abandon its future prospects in any agony of despair.

Measures were immediately taken to increase the small standing army by volunteers and the levy of the people. These troops, supplying the want of experience by the enthusiasm arising from the feeling that they had right on their side, defeated the Croatian armies and drove them out of the country.

The defeated army fled towards Vienna.

One of their leaders appealed, after an unsuccessful fight, to the generosity of the Hungarians for a truce, which he used to escape by night and surreptitiously with his beaten troops; the other corps, of more than 10,000 men, was surrounded and taken prisoners, from the general to the last private.

The defeated army fled in the direction of Vienna, where the Emperor continued his demoralizing policy, and nominated the beaten and flying rebel as his plenipotentiary and substitute in Hungary, suspending by this act the constitution and institutions of the country, all its authorities, courts of justice and tribunals, laying the kingdom under martial law, and placing in the hand and under the unlimited authority of a rebel, the honour, the property, and the lives of the people—in the hand of a man who, with

armed bands, had braved the laws, and attacked the constitution of the country.

But the House of Austria was not contented with this unjustifiable violation of oaths taken by its head.

The rebellious Ban was placed under the protection of the troops stationed near Vienna, and commanded by Prince Windischgrätz. These troops, after taking Vienna by storm, were led as an Imperial Austrian army to conquer Hungary. But the Hungarian nation, persisting in its loyalty, sent an envoy to the advancing enemy. This envoy, coming under a flag of truce, was treated as a prisoner and thrown into prison. No heed was paid to the remonstrances and the demands of the Hungarian nation for justice. The threat of the gallows was, on the contrary, thundered against all who had taken arms in defence of a wretched and oppressed country. But before the army had time to enter Hungary, a family revolution in the tyrannical reigning House was perpetrated at Olmütz. Ferdinand V. was forced to resign a throne which had been polluted with so much blood and perjury, and the son of Francis Charles, who also abdicated his claim to the inheritance, the youthful Archduke Francis Joseph, caused himself to be proclaimed Emperor of Austria and King of Hungary. But no one but the Hungarian nation can, by compacts, dispose of the constitutional throne of Hungary.

At this critical moment the Hungarian nation demanded nothing more than the maintenance of its laws and institutions, and peace guaranteed by their integrity. Had the assent of the nation to this change in the occupant of the throne been asked in a legal manner, and the young Prince offered to take the customary oath that he would preserve the Constitution, the Hungarian nation would not have refused to elect him King, in accordance with the treaties extant, and to crown him with St. Stephen's crown before he had dipped his hand in the blood of his people.

He, however, refusing to perform an act so sacred in the eyes of God and man, and in strange contrast to the innocence natural to youthful breasts, declared in his first words his intention of conquering Hungary, which he dared to call a rebellious country, although he himself had raised rebellion there, and of depriving it of that independence which it had maintained for a thousand years, to incorporate it into the Austrian monarchy.

And he has but too well laboured to keep his word. He ordered the army under Windischgrätz to enter Hungary, and, at the same time, directed several corps of troops to attack the country from Galicia and Styria. Hungary resisted the projected invasion, but being unable to make head against so many countries at once on account of the devastation carried on in several parts of the interior by the excited rebels, and being thus prevented from displaying its

whole power of defence, the troops were, in the first instance, obliged to retire. To save the capital from the horrors of a storm like that to which Prague and Vienna had mercilessly been exposed, and not to place the fortunes of a nation—which deserved better—on the die of a pitched battle, for which there had not been sufficient preparation, the capital was abandoned, and the Diet and national Government removed, in January last, to Debreczen, trusting to the help of a just God, and to the energies of the nation, to prevent the cause from being lost, even when it should be seen that the capital was given up. Thanks be to Heaven, the cause was not lost!

But even then an attempt was made to bring about a peaceful arrangement, and a deputation was sent to the generals of the perjured dynasty. This house, in its blind self-confidence, refused to enter into any negotiation, and dared to demand an unconditional submission from the nation. The deputation was further detained, and one of the number, the former president of the ministry, was even thrown into prison. The deserted capital was occupied, and was turned into a place of execution; a part of the prisoners of war were there consigned to the scaffold, another part were thrown into dungeons, while the remainder were forced to enter the ranks of the army in Italy.

The measure of the crimes of the Austrian house was, however, filled up, when—after its defeat—it applied for help to the Emperor of Russia; and, in spite of the remonstrances and protestations of the Porte, and of the consuls of the European powers at Bucharest, in defiance of international rights, and to the endangering of the balance of power in Europe, caused the Russian troops stationed in Wallachia to be led into Transylvania, for the destruction of the Hungarian nation.

Three months ago we were driven back upon the Tisza; our just arms have already recovered all Transylvania; Clausenburg, Hermanstadt, and Cronstadt are taken; one portion of the troops of Austria is driven into the Bukowina, another, together with the Russian force sent to aid them, is totally defeated, and to the last man obliged to evacuate Transylvania, and to flee into Wallachia. Upper Hungary is cleared of foes.

The Servian rebellion is further suppressed; the forts of St. Tama's and the Roman entrenchment have been taken by storm, and the whole country between the Danube and the Tisza, including the county of Bacs, has been recovered for the nation.

The commander-in-chief of the perjured House of Austria has himself been defeated in five consecutive battles, and has with his whole army been driven back upon and even over the Danube.

Founding a line of conduct upon all these occurrences, and con-

fiding in the justice of an eternal God, we, in the face of the civilized world, in reliance upon the natural rights of the Hungarian nation, and upon the power it has developed to maintain them, further impelled by that sense of duty which urges every nation to defend its existence, do hereby declare and proclaim in the name of the nation legally represented by us the following:—

1st. Hungary, with Transylvania, as legally united with it, and its dependencies, are hereby declared to constitute a free, independent, sovereign state. The territorial unity of this state is declared to be inviolable, and its territory to be indivisible.

2d. The House of Hapsburg-Lorraine—having, by treachery, perjury, and levying of war against the Hungarian nation, as well as by its outrageous violation of all compacts, in breaking up the integral territory of the kingdom, in the separation of Transylvania, Croatia, Sclavonia, Fiume, and its districts from Hungary—further, by compassing the destruction of the independence of the country by arms, and by calling in the disciplined army of a foreign power, for the purpose of annihilating its nationality, by violation both of the Pragmatic Sanction and of treaties concluded between Austria and Hungary, on which the alliance between the two countries depended—is, as treacherous and perjured, for ever excluded from the throne of the united states of Hungary and Transylvania, and all their possessions and dependencies, and is hereby deprived of the style and title, as well as of the armorial bearings belonging to the crown of Hungary, and declared to be banished for ever from the united countries and their dependencies and possessions. They are therefore declared to be deposed, degraded, and banished for ever from the Hungarian territory.

3d. The Hungarian nation, in the exercise of its rights and sovereign will, being determined to assume the position of a free and independent state amongst the nations of Europe, declares it to be its intention to establish and maintain friendly and neighbourly relations with those states with which it was formerly united under the same sovereign, as well as to contract alliances with all other nations.

4th. The form of government to be adopted for the future will be fixed by the Diet of the nation.

But until this point shall be decided, on the basis of the ancient and received principles which have been recognized for ages, the government of the united countries, their possessions and dependencies, shall be conducted on personal responsibility, and under the obligation to render an account of all acts, by Louis Kossuth, who has by acclamation, and with the unanimous approbation of the Diet of the nation, been named Governing President (Gubernator), and the ministers whom he shall appoint.

And this resolution of ours we shall proclaim and make known to all the nations of the civilized world, with the conviction that the Hungarian nation will be received by them amongst the free and independent nations of the world, with the same friendship and free acknowledgment of its rights which the Hungarians proffer to other countries.

We also hereby proclaim and make known to all the inhabitants of the united states of Hungary and Transylvania, and their dependencies, that all authorities, communes, towns, and the civil officers both in the counties and cities, are completely set free and released from all the obligations under which they stood, by oath or otherwise, to the said House of Hapsburg-Lorraine, and that any individual daring to contravene this decree, and by word or deed in any way to aid or abet any one violating it, shall be treated and punished as guilty of high treason. And by the publication of this decree, we hereby bind and oblige all the inhabitants of these countries to obedience to the Government now instituted formally, and endowed with all necessary legal powers.

DEBRECZEN, APRIL 14, 1849.

VI.

EXPOSE OF THE AUSTRO-RUSSIAN CAMPAIGN IN HUNGARY.

FROM A CIRCULAR DESPATCH OF PRINCE WITTGENSTEIN, D. D. FRANKFORT, 21ST JULY, 1849.

BARON BUDBERG saw the Prince Paskiewitch at Warsaw. The principal reason for the delay in the opening of the campaign may be found in the circumstance that the Russian Field-Marshal, according to the method he acquired in Asia and Poland, refused to move his troops before he had provided a comfortable and sufficient victualling establishment for his army.

The Field-Marshal calculates that the resistance of the Hungarians will be broken within two months after his march across the Gallician frontier from Dukla, that is to say, that within six weeks from the present day, nothing will remain to be done but to pacify the country.

The Russian Ambassador at Berlin has stated that from 40,000 to 50,000 men of the auxiliary army are to remain in Hungary, while the measures of pacification would of course be left to the Austrian troops.

Baron Geringer, who has been attached to General Haynau, as Civil Commissioner for Hungary, is a cautious and distinguished man.

It appears that in Berlin the Russians are suspected of an intention to relieve the Austrian empire by a partial occupation of Hungary and Transylvania, and to enable Austria to spare some troops for the protection of her interests in Germany. It is to be regretted that this language reminds us of the worst days of German dissensions.

The following are some authentic statements on the statistics of the contending armies:

The Magyar and Polish insurgents amount to 140,000 men. Of these there are in opposition to the Imperial army round and in Komorn and the mining districts, 80,000 men, under the rebel chief, Görgey; the remainder is in four or five small corps, under various Hungarian and Polish Generals, opposed to armies of the Field-Marshal Paskiewitch and the Ban of Croatia.

The Austro-Russian army amounts to double the numbers of the insurgents, that is to say, to 200,000 men, of which 80,000, under General Haynau, are in the environs of Komorn, while 100,000 men, under the immediate command of Prince Paskiewitch, are on the road from Krakaw to Pest.

The reason why the Russian army had not taken Pest on the 2d or 3d inst., and why that city was probably taken on the 6th or 7th, lies not in the resistance of the enemy, for it appears from reports of the Field-Marshal's advanced guard, that the corps of Dembinski which opposed them, and which numbered 20,000 men, has by desertion and disorganization dwindled away to half that number.

The Field-Marshal, adhering to his system, has stopped for three or four days at Mistkolz, to allow his commissariat to come up. During this halt he has detached a corps of twenty-five battalions and thirty squadrons to Debreczin, for the purpose of making a certain moral impression by the occupation of the late focus of the rebellion.

The dissensions between Görgey and the ultra-Magyar party, on the one hand, and Kossuth and the Poles, on the other, have now become pretty potent.[1]

It is but fair to presume that Görgey, with the bulk of the Hungarian army, remained in and round Komorn, for the special purpose of not being compelled to co-operate with Kossuth and the Poles, and *for the purpose of treating with the Imperialist Generals,*

[1] The peculiar style of this despatch may be explained, but not excused, by reminding the reader that it proceeded from the pen of Prince Wittgenstein.

as soon as his retreat is cut off by the occupation of Pest and the country on the banks of the Theiss.

At Vienna, they have reason to believe *that Görgey will treat and surrender within the next fortnight,* and the sudden rise in the Austrian funds shows the firm confidence of the public.

Nevertheless, from a military point of view, the position of the Hungarians is undoubtedly strong, confined as they are in an entrenched camp leaning on the fortress of Komorn, and with two 'têtes-de-pont' on the Danube and the Waag; and an army of 80,000 men in such a position is always formidable if properly victualled. But it is asserted that a typhus fever is raging in Komorn, * *

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[The end of this sentence is unfit for publication.]

VII.

DETAILS OF THE HUNGARIAN EMIGRATION AT WIDDIN BY AN EYE-WITNESS.

LETTER TO MADAME PULSZKY.

"DEAR MADAME.

"On referring to my private letter to your husband, which you propose to publish, I see no serious objection to your doing so, if you do not find any in its gossiping tone and somewhat incoherent style.

"It contains, indeed, some remarks that might appear disrespectful towards an illustrious exile, whom I am desirous of treating—especially since his fall—with all the deference I feel.

"But when I remember that it is of a Hungarian I am speaking, and that that Hungarian is Kossuth, I have sufficient knowledge of the magnanimity of your people, and of its great representative, to feel assured that I shall not be misconstrued, and that he would be the first to encourage the unreserved expression of an honest opinion on a public man, however unfavourable to himself.

"Wishing your book all the success which its great merits deserve,

"I am, dear Madame,

"Your obedient servant,

"THE AUTHOR OF 'REVELATIONS OF RUSSIA.'"

LONDON, FEB. 14, 1850.

LETTER FROM THE AUTHOR OF "REVELATIONS OF RUSSIA" TO FRANCIS PULSZKY.

"DEAR SIR,

"I proceed, in fulfilment of my promise, to give you some account of the Emigration. At the beginning of October, having learned in the centre of Turkey that the late government of Hungary and the remains of the armies of Bem and Dembinski were at Widdin, I hastened thither. I must remark, that throughout, and at the opposite extremity of Turkey, the Hungarian question excited a degree of interest amongst Turks, Greeks, and Albanians, perhaps unprecedented with these populations. The Mahommedans universally regard your compatriots as anti-Russian heroes. Amongst the Turks, I found prevalent the belief in their consanguinity with the Magyars, and the Christian rayas of the West and South, notwithstanding the efforts of Greek priests and Latin bishops, expressed strong sympathies for a people resisting oppression, and bearding in the field the Emperor and the Tsar. The wildest tales were current amongst these people, but Kossuth, and occasionally Bem, were the only names known in connection with the struggle.

Kossuth Effendi was sometimes represented to act as a second Roustan, wise in council and just in judgment, but scattering hosts with his red scymitar. Rumour had in fact added to his great qualifications, others of an opposite nature and fused the characteristics of Bem into a common reputation with his own. A traveller, twenty years conversant with the East, made to me the remark that no renown, since Bonaparte's, has spread so widely and rapidly amongst the Orientals. As I approached the Danube, the predominance of the Bulgarian and Serbian element, and the knowledge of the result of the contest, rendered both the manifestation of these sympathies less vivid, and the contest less absorbing. When the news came of Görgey's surrender, one old Turk, holding a high official situation, shed tears in my presence and said, that God was punishing the Osmanlees for not having had the courage to interfere, when the Russians and Austrians assembled in the Turkish principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia; and another—an old man, sent orders to his agent to invest his property in the purchase of an estate near Damascus, as he now believed that, wherever his bones were laid on this side the Bosphorus, the Muscovite would disturb them. In Serbia where every passing Frank is now taken for a Hungarian, the inhabitants rushed to their doors, shouting "Magyar! Magyar!" and staring at me in wonderment. Three months before the life of a Magyar, (as I learned afterwards,) would not have been safe in these villages. Now they are regarded with

a sullen respect. Twenty thousand Serbian freebooters, hired by Austria, to devastate and plunder, had crossed the Danube and rendered important service to the Imperial cause. Of these, some three thousand had returned laden with plunder. Thousands of ducats, hundreds of waggon-loads of booty, and sheep by tens of thousands, had been brought back by these adventurers; but seventeen thousand of their number had been slaughtered by the Magyars, who every now and then, stormed their entrenchments, or surprised them in the open field. The Serbs admitted readily enough the prowess of their opponents, but above all, were everywhere impressed with the belief that they had fought on the wrong side. Widdin is situated in a marshy plain on the right bank of the Danube. The city is wide, and straggling gardens and cultivated patches intervene between the houses within its rampart enclosure. The fortress or citadel, is an inner town, surrounded by a moat and rudely fortified. At the city gate my passport was demanded, and my arms were asked for the first time in the Turkish dominions. Whilst my Arnaut was debating this point, and the guard preparing to accompany me to the Pacha, I spurred forward up to the citadel, in which I had gathered that M. Kossuth resided or was confined, and addressed myself to the first group of Hungarians I met upon a small triangular place, built apparently around a well. "You wish, probably, to see the President-Governor? He lives there," said the individual I questioned, pointing opposite, "and there he comes." As I alighted from my horse, I stood face to face with M. Kossuth.

M. Kossuth looked harassed and in low spirits. It would be superfluous to give you any description of his person; but have you seen his portraiture in the Austrian "Hue and Cry," which I subjoin? It is seldom that a likeness, when flattering, is so accurately painted by an enemy.

M. Kossuth's first remark to me was, "that my letters would have possessed for him the highest interest, if they had reached him at Szegedin; but where he was, could be of only slight importance." His observation on perusing them was "too late, too late!"—that fatal *too late* which has been the bane of Hungary! Discouraging as this uncompromising frankness of M. Kossuth's often is, and impolitic as I once thought it, I have come to doubt whether it has not more than counteracting advantages, from the confidence which the expression of his satisfaction inspires.

For those accustomed to the conventional "grimacing" of men in office, there is, at all events, ample compensation for this bluntness in the unusual significance it gives to all expression on his part of confidence or approbation.

I returned with Kossuth into his dwelling, and will at once proceed to narrate to you how he was lodged and treated. A mud wall

with heavy oaken gates separated from the street (or rather from the triangle I have mentioned) this habitation, which consisted of a single apartment—the reception room of its owner—whose real abode was in the chambers of his harem, a separate building in an inner court. On account of this custom, the best houses in provincial Turkish towns afford but little accommodation to male visitors, the reception room, which is accessible to the public, being little more cared for, even by officials of rank, than with us the chambers, or the office in the Inns-of-Court, or bye-lanes of the city, by the luxurious lawyer, or the opulent merchant. Kossuth's *char-à-banc* was in a narrow yard. Two Hussars were grooming his horses under an open shed, and the owner of the house, a portly Turk, was sitting on a small platform smoking his chibouque complacently. Colonel Asboth, the young Count Dembinski, and his interpreter, constituted all the attendance for which his single chamber afforded possible accommodation. This one room was of tolerable size, surrounded on three sides by a divan, and covered for about three-fourths of its extent by a carpet, on the edge of which inferiors in rank and the Albanian servitors of the host deposited their yellow boots or red slippers before trespassing on its precincts. Cloaks, papers, bridles, and the contents of Kossuth's slender baggage, were exposed in great disorder about the divan, which constituted at night the bed of the ex-president-governor, his secretary, and interpreter. Three wooden chairs and a small deal table were the only articles of furniture introduced in honour of the guest.

Kossuth's host was chief of the police;—a Turkish officer was in attendance to accompany him whenever he walked out on foot, a horse soldier in case he chose to ride, and two or three Albanian attendants brought in, as he called for it, ice-water, or the chibouque. Under the pretence of solicitude for his safety and marks of honour, it was clear that M. Kossuth was closely watched, and all his applications for a more convenient lodging were, at this time, neglected or evaded.

Kossuth's dinner was brought in. It consisted of a Hungarian dish cooked by the wife of a Hungarian soldier. It was served in a brown earthenware dish, and partaken of with an iron spoon. After dinner, Count Dembinski came back with his Countess, and the conversation took a lighter turn.

Within the precincts of the fort, or citadel, I found Meszaros, the Perczels, Bem, old Dembinski, Guyon, Count Zamoyski, Mr. Longworth, and a number of officers lodged. Outside the fortress, but within the city walls, Count Casimir Batthyanyi, his lady, his cousin, and many more Hungarians, were quartered. The soldiers, the Polish and Italian legions, were encamped on the shore of the Danube. The camp was surrounded on three sides by a cordon of

Turkish infantry, and the refugees were permitted to circulate wherever they pleased within the enclosure formed by the camp and the city.—To pass beyond the gates, even with escort, into the open country was, however, a favour only occasionally claimed by the Batthyányis.

The reception given to the emigrants by the Turkish authorities was at first cordial enough: but it was the misfortune of the Porte to have its good intentions for a long time frustrated by its servitors. Corruption in Turkey principally exists, as I need hardly explain to you, in the highest classes; but even in this respect society widely differs from the aspect it presents in Austria or Russia, where all have been debased to the same level, and are almost equally corruptible. In Turkey, if one man in power is a rogue, his next neighbour perhaps exhibits the most rigid political integrity, and is equally proof against attempts at seduction, and incapable of inhospitable fraud. The Pachas, for instance, of Belgrade and of Nissa, are true upright Turks, but the Pacha and authorities of Widdin, happened unfortunately to be under Russian and Austrian influence, and as an almost natural consequence did not hesitate to turn aside from their guests, for their personal profit, the stream of the Sultan's bounty. In the camp, provisions, it is true, were distributed, but the soldiers, without bed, clothing, firewood, or even hay to lie upon, suffered terribly from the cold, and no less than 360 perished out of some 5000 from the cholera, which was raging amongst them. Every day the dead cart, with its creaking wheels and heavy oxen rolled over the rugged streets with its ghastly load.

Guyon, who had the command of the camp, complained constantly to the Pacha, but could obtain no redress. The Turkish population showed unprecedented sympathy with these Magyars and Poles, whose renown had filled the East; but the Bulgarians and Wallachs, from the other side, looked on them as men doomed to sacrifice, and sure to be given up to their enemies on the peremptory demand of the irresistible Tsar.

Kossuth hardly ever went out, and never showed himself in the camp. He could promise them nothing, "not even personal safety," he said, and he would give them no assurances which were not strictly warranted. Of Görgey, Kossuth spoke with much and perhaps studied moderation. It is true, that Kossuth, who raised him from the dust, is responsible in a great measure to his country for this man's actions. Of his treachery, it appears that Kossuth was the last to be convinced, though at a very early period he discovered that he was manœuvring rather against the Diet and himself than against the enemy. But Kossuth thought that his very ambition would prompt him at all events to save the country if he could; and after the battle of Kapolna, offered on that condition to give him

up the government, and was answered by a sneer. Kossuth, in fact, mistook for ambition what in fact was overpowering envy, and this miscalculation, together with one amiable weakness, were fatal to your cause. Kossuth neither could, would, nor ever did sign a death-warrant, and he conceived Görgey to have so great an influence with his army, that no other remedy remained but his violent removal. In reality, this influence of Görgey's existed only with some sixty officers, his creatures, or his dupes, who dreamed a military despotism in a country essentially parliamentary; but the masses always remained firm in their fidelity to the Diet. It was probably vexation at the little progress he could really make, which chafed Görgey's wayward temper into surrender, and that surrender he could never venture to propose till he had abandoned half his army to be beaten in detail, and discouraged the other by retreating many hundred miles. Even thus it required the results of the battle of Temesvar to render his treachery feasible.

The chiefs of the emigration, at this time, saw very little of each other, but remained principally confined to their respective domiciles. This arose, no doubt, from the uncertainty in which they lived, being cut off from all communication or intelligence with the world beyond Widdin—their inability to give any information to the crowd of refugees, the distance between the citadel, the town, and camp, and the condition of the unpaved streets, in which the deep mud never seemed to dry.

Meszaros, I found living with Dembinski, who complains with justice of having lost the battle of Kapolna, which otherwise undoubtedly he would have won, through the defection of Görgey, who abandoned his positions, and then held a council of war with his officers on Dembinski, his Commander-in-chief, whom he arrested, and deprived of his command, with the sanction of M. Szemere, the Commissioner of the Diet. Kossuth, on his arrival, enforced the resignation of Dembinski, but did not appoint Görgey, as he expected, in Dembinski's place. This is naturally enough a sore point with Dembinski, who does not take into account that Görgey held in his hand, at that time, the sword of Hungary, that Szemere sanctioned the proceedings of the court-martial, because, convened without him, it otherwise opened a schism between the army and the Diet, and that Kossuth was bound by what his Commissary had done. Kossuth, in fact, who was deeply pained at the necessity, on this occasion made Görgey, who had been acting in contempt of his authority, the offer to give up to him his own position, if he would continue energetically to work out the salvation of his country. Kossuth preferred even the military despotism, which was Görgey's aim, to the subjugation of Hungary: he did not hesitate to sacrifice himself to the cause of his country's independence, and therefore

would not peril it in an uncertain attempt to redress Dembinski's unquestionable grievance. Dembinski, who has all his life scrupulously refused to interfere in politics, maintains more strictly than ever the same rule, and is, therefore, voluntarily without influence with the Polish portion of the emigration.

Count Casimir Batthyányi was lodged in the outer town with his lady. Their house was one of the best and cleanest at this period, but afforded them only the accommodation of one room and kiosk, and another in which their servants were quartered. Their horses were obliged to be kept half a mile off at the Khan. A Turkish lieutenant of cavalry, and a horse soldier, were always at the door to accompany them when they rode out, as guard of honour. Countess Batthyányi, and Countess Dembinski, were the only two ladies accompanying the emigration, and as the husband of Madame Dembinski was all day in attendance on Kossuth, she afterwards presided at his table—when circumstances enabled him to exchange his earthen dish and iron spoon, to keep a table, at which, if homely, his suite and all visitors were entertained with Hungarian hospitality.

General Bem was suffering still, when I first saw him, from illness and from wounds. He is both an older man than I thought him, and remarkably old-looking for his age. I heard much of his exploits. His temerity throws that of Charles the Twelfth into the shade. His conquest of Transylvania is, perhaps, the most wonderful military achievement upon record. Nothing is more striking than the exceeding placidity and mildness of his tone and manner, and its effect in the midst of scenes of the most intense excitement has been very great, in inspiring men with whom he knows no language in common. On one instance, the *whole* of his staff was shot down, or swept away by charging horse, and Bem was obliged to lie *perdu* in a ditch, among the dead, till the storm had passed over, when he rose up, and rubbing his hands, proceeded, without discomposure, to put a new staff together. But as far as I have been enabled to judge, I think Bem's successes to have been more due to his just contempt for the Austrian and Russian generals, than to combination—his reverses owing to his recklessness. In war he acts more like the bold gamester than an ingenious speculator, and his career will probably always be one of dazzling successes, or of rapid misfortune. I do not know whether you are aware that, at Temesvar, he was very nearly retrieving matters. A short time after he had assumed the command, he ordered battle along the whole line. Till four in the afternoon, he carried everything before him. The last reserves of Austrian and Russian cavalry had been driven back headlong by Guyon; and Haynau, you may take it as a fact, had fairly run away, and was six or seven miles from the field. It required a series of accidents to turn the

fortune of the day, which, if won, no doubt Bem would wonderfully have improved. If Haynau had been routed, Görgey would not have dared surrender, and Bem, with the united forces, would have been down upon Paskievitch before he could have turned.

Nevertheless, this battle is a great blot on the military reputation of Bem, who went into action without knowing what he had to work with, and pushed forward, so to say, in a steeple-chase, playing with his cannon the part of Murat with his horse, till stopped in full career by actual want of ammunition!

The circumstances and the sequel of the battle are in some respects condemnatory of all the chief actors on both sides. Dembinski was ruining the army by retreating; Haynau proved that discretion was the better part of valour; Kossuth showed the weakness of yielding to the exigence of Görgey, by resigning to him the presidency: Görgey seized the opportunity to work out his long premeditated treason, and there remains only Paskievitch who played his part without error; but we should remember that he had only the same easy part to play as those stage heroes who press an adversary, making a sham defence, and only waiting the opportunity of being killed with decency. I know that it was hard for Kossuth to have acted otherwise than he did, or to have foreseen the unexampled turpitude of his creature and rival. I know that Dembinski points to the result of the battle as a proof that it should not have been fought. I know that Bem urges that he went into action with men and horses, who had not tasted food or provender for four-and-twenty hours; and I feel that Haynau might excuse himself by the incontrovertible allegation that nothing but a series of unforeseen accidents could have prevented him from falling into the hands of the Hungarians, if he had not run away, and that even at that period his barbarities had rendered this a consummation far from desirable for him. But you may gather from this, that even at this last stage to which the earlier disobedience of Görgey had reduced the cause, it was far from being such a "hollow thing" as from a distance it might seem, and that a little of that fortune which has been so inconsistently unpropitious to your countrymen would even at the eleventh hour have turned the tables.

Bem, considering himself wholly a Hungarian officer, has sank the Pole, and unquestionably he has established for himself a second nationality with the Transylvanian portion at least, of the Hungarian people. Count Zamoyski, who had much distinguished himself, and who was still confined to his room, I found within the precincts of the citadel. Zamoyski, who represents the Czartoryski interest, and, as you know, may be said to personify the conservative and monarchical principle, was, to my surprise, on the most intimate terms with General Visocki, the democratic leader and commander of the Polish

legion. I was struck and pleased by the practical good sense of this fusion in a common interest of extreme opinions, which was so sincere, that Visocki, by his example and influence, caused the whole democratic party to join the minority of opposite opinion in recognizing Zamoyski as the Chief of the Polish portion of the Emigration.

General Perczel lived very retired with his brother. The inferior officers had established a casino, in which they spent their evenings, so that their former superiors were frequently quite alone. I found Perczel in this predicament reading by an oil-lamp at a plain deal-table. Of the violence and exaggeration of language, by which his patriotism and courage are said to be tarnished, I perceived nothing. On the contrary, I never met with a man more modest, or moderate, than on that and subsequent occasions he proved himself. This would be my evidence, if we are to speak of men only "as we find them," though possibly the chafed popular leader, and irritated partisan chief, may have been a very different personage from the inactive exile.

Guyon lived in the same building with Generals Kmetty and Stein. He had with him about eight-and-twenty of his officers, and was accompanied by Mr. Longworth, the Circassian traveller, who was a captain on his staff. One of my first attempts was to collect and compare evidence on these campaigns, map in hand, and much as I was on my guard against the unconscious predilections one might entertain for a countryman of whom I had much reason to be proud, I came to the deliberate conclusion that, notwithstanding his popularity, full justice has neither been done to Guyon in England, nor by your countrymen.

They attribute to him always the most chivalrous honour, and the most reckless valour, but by implication hardly appear to allow him anything else. Guyon had the misfortune to have almost commenced his career by being misled when marching upon Tyrnau; he had the merit of having subsequently fought and won some of the most desperate actions of the war, and of having penetrated, and opposed the designs of Görgey. Görgey could not deny what the whole army had seen; but to counteract its effects, gave out that Guyon was a mere headlong swordsman.

But in fact, I doubt whether Bem does not much more nearly approach what Guyon is supposed to be, and whether Guyon is not what we thought Bem. Guyon has certainly been the "*Chevalier sans peur et sans reproche*" of these campaigns. The first to cross the frontier in the war with Austria, he refused indignantly to the last all compromise, which had not for its basis the full recognition of the constitutional rights of Hungary. When Görgey originally retreated before Windischgrätz and Guyon commanded under him,

Görgey only fought to be beaten, and retreated without attempting anything. Guyon, without support or instructions from his chief, manœuvred in the most masterly and successful manner and terminated by defeating in the Branizko Pass with 10,000 Magyars, Schlick, the best of the Austrian Generals, holding with 15,000 picked troops the strongest positions in Hungary. This action, one of the most sanguinary upon record for the numbers engaged, and which may be defined as a series of assaults against a superior force, saved both the army of Görgey, and for the time the cause of Hungary; but Görgey, on hearing of it, remarked only with a sneer that the Hungarians had more fortune than wit, and neglected to take the co-operative measures which Guyon pointed out, thereby wilfully permitting Schlick to escape from otherwise inevitable destruction. I do not know whether you are aware that after this campaign, Guyon positively refused on any terms to serve under Görgey, whom only in deference to Kossuth he was prevented from publicly attacking as either an imbecile or a traitor. This was the cause of Guyon's appointment to the command of Comorn, which being then invested, he only entered after almost miraculous adventures.

In the Banat, Guyon finally defeated and drove out with a very inferior force the Croatian Bobadil Jellachich, who left 4000 dead upon the field, and never reappeared on that bank of the Danube as long as the war lasted. The chief fault of Guyon seems to be, that when the plans he proposes are not accepted he will not say a word further to urge them, but "*shuts up*," and allows things to take their course, contented with the fulfilment of his individual duty. Guyon has been throughout unshaken in his fidelity to the Diet, and to Kossuth, its representative, and this was doubtless a chief cause of the animosity towards him by Görgey who on several occasions seems purposely to have abandoned him to be cut off, as he did afterwards Nagy-Sandor.

Guyon and Count Casimir Batthyányi were at this time the most frequent visitors at Kossuth's; and as Guyon had become very Hungarian, I do not know whether Batthyányi was not most English of the two. The purity with which English was spoken and written by many of the refugees, who had never been out of Hungary, the English blood of the Hungarian horses about Widdin, and the English saddles almost universally used, were very striking in that remote corner of Europe, and trivial as the signs might seem, were highly characteristic of the predilection of your compatriots for this country.

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At length a light broke in upon the ignorance in which the emigration had so long been pining; but it was far from being, I assure you, a cheering ray. Letters from Constantinople informed us that

the autocrat had despatched his autograph to the Padischa demanding the extradition of the refugees. Austria, of course, concurred in the demand, but this I had almost forgotten to mention, so little attention is now paid to Austria in the East, and so thoroughly is she regarded as a Russian Satrapy. A stormy debate had followed in the divan, where Reschid and the majority of the ministry were against, but the majority of the council in favour of compliance, as an unavoidable necessity. A cabal to overturn Reschid was at this time on foot. At length, Reschid fearing the turn things were taking, said, "What if they turn Mahomedans?" This was a startling hypothesis which made the difficulty a dilemma; the Turkish law being the Koran, which condemns as an unpardonable crime the delivery of a true Mussulman to his enemies. Sir Stratford Canning, you will remember, had recommended to the Porte not to comply with the demands of his neighbours, but could give no pledge of assistance in the event of his advice, if followed, drawing down aggression.

Now abandoned as the Turks have been by this country on the innumerable occasions when Russia has interfered in accordance with her interests, and to the detriment and humiliation of the Porte on the strength of purposely equivocal clauses which the cabinet of St. Petersburg includes in all its treaties, it is not wonderful that Turkey should cease to place faith in any but the most positive assurances of support. The apathetic policy, to call it by no other name, pursued by the late administration, was the most detrimental possible to British interests, which are precisely the interests both of the Turkish population, and of the Porte. This policy Lord Palmerston was forced, in a great measure, to accept through the ignorance, and indifference of the public on foreign questions—the indifference permitting the Foreign Secretary mischievously to interfere on some occasions, whilst depriving him of due support when seemingly he seemed disposed to act with beneficial vigour. The policy of Lord Aberdeen seems simply to have been to render himself agreeable to the despotic courts in the ratio of their pretensions, and of their power; and as both Russia and Austria had long regarded Turkey with very wolfish longings, to please them he resolutely shut his eyes to their encroachments. Lord Palmerston seems to act on the perfectly sound conviction that Turkey, during the last few years, has been rapidly gaining strength, and that—whatever some even of our liberals may imagine—is, undoubtedly, the case; but his Lordship's conduct is, at the same time, obviously inspired by the belief (which, however logical at the first blush, is entirely the reverse of fact), that because Turkey is so much stronger than a few years ago, she will, in a few years more, be so far further strengthened, as to be able to make head against her northern neighbours, providing

that, meanwhile, she can only stave off war by any imaginable concessions.

Now the fact is, that though Turkey is now infinitely more powerful than five years back, she will be no more vigorous five years hence; but, on the contrary, much weakened, unless she shows at once a bold front to Russia, whose intrigues bar all farther possible improvement, whilst the timidity shown hitherto by the Porte enables her to overawe, and alienate the Christian population.

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Under these circumstances, I confess frankly that whatever I might have done as a Turk, or as a Turkish sovereign, without a positive pledge from Sir Stratford, I should, as a Turkish minister, have hesitated advising resistance to the peremptory demands of the Tsar. The Sultan whose rule, as I need not inform you, is one of the most constitutional in the world, and who is, without doubt, the most humane, and sincerely liberal, sovereign in Europe, had very little to say on the question. As far as it was put to him, he pronounced himself indignantly against the demand, and declared that he would prefer the loss of fifty thousand soldiers to so discreditable a concession. But Reschid, the Seraskier, and several of the ministers, abetted by some ultra-Moslemins, saw only in the hypotheses they had set forth in the Divan, the certain means of rendering impossible the extradition, and in this very philanthropic intent, despatched a confidential agent to Widdin, to propose proselytism to the refugees, several of whose own friends advised them from Constantinople, that it was the only means to avoid being delivered up to their enemies. It is impossible to describe the sensation which was created in the emigration by this intelligence, and by the arrival of the agent, who after nightfall visited one by one the Hungarian leaders with his proposals. It became known that Bem had eagerly accepted offers, which perhaps only anticipated propositions of his own. It was impossible that any one could attribute the compliance of such a man to fear, and as I had gathered from his previous conversations, he was struck both with the admirable material of the Turkish army, and with its officerless condition. Bem's existence is epitomised in natural hostility to Russia; he saw in the Turkish army promising soldiers to command against the Russians; this is the cause of his conversion. But the example of that conversion had an immense influence on the Emigration: "Rather the Russians than the Austrians; rather Mahomedanism than the Russians!" was the universal agreement and cry. Nearly all the subalterns and soldiers, and in Guyon's quarters some five-and-twenty out of twenty-eight at the first moment seemed eager to accept the proposition. You know that between the Magyars and Turks a belief in kindred has of late reciprocally sprung up, which in the future may have an

immense influence on the destiny of the East, and which renders less surprising the favour with which this idea was at first accepted. Whatever may be said or written to the contrary, the zeal of those propagandists, to whom the well-intentioned, but ill-judged scheme of the Turkish ministry had been entrusted, induced them to represent the profession of Islamism as the only alternative of extradition. At least, *I know* that this representation was made to Kossuth, Batthyányi, Guyon, Zamoyski, and Monti, and that the belief was universally entertained, both by them and by the whole of the Emigration, that the only mode of avoiding extradition was by embracing Islamism.

It was under these solemn circumstances that Kossuth rose at the Council held in his room on the occasion, and said with that inspired and inspiring enthusiasm peculiar to him: "That he did not pretend to control the conduct of any of his compatriots. That every man's religious convictions were a matter that rested only between himself and God—that consistently with that sincerity and truth, to which he had always rigidly adhered, he could hold out no hope that if they refused the offer made them, their extradition could be averted, and that if given up to Austria, he knew its Cabinet too well to allow them to cherish for a moment the illusion that any mercy would be shown. But, nevertheless, for his own part, he would, when asked to abjure the faith of his forefathers, through terror of the executioner, welcome rather the gibbet and the block, and he concluded by denouncing curses on the tongue which should dare propose to him anything so infamous."

Count Batthyányi, Guyon, Zamoyski, Monti and Dembinski, (the General,) negatived the offer with equal energy, and the effect of these examples was so great, that nine-tenths of the would-be-proselytes abandoned their primitive resolution. In all, a Polish, a Hungarian, and a German General, that is to say, Bem, Kmetty and Stein, passed over to the faith of the prophet with ninety-five officers and men—Hungarian, Polish, and Italian, making ninety-eight in all. Some of the worst and most insubordinate characters were amongst them. The piety of certain Moslemins induced them as a bait to load these proselytes with presents, and to parade them before their compatriots, who, on the North bank of the Danube, were suffering terribly from cholera and from want of firing, stimulants, and clothes. An ill-feeling was hence generated. Some of these proselytes were turned out of the camp: the Turkish soldiers were disposed to interfere, thinking that their new co-religionaries were being persecuted for their change of faith. The unarmed refugees seemed once or twice on the point of rushing upon the guards, and the most trivial incident might have given rise to fearful slaughter.

Fortunately the representations which were made on this occasion brought to the knowledge of the Turkish ministry how ill their instructions had been fulfilled, and from this time a marked improvement took place in the emigrants.

Kossuth was removed to the best house in the place, (the property of the daughter of the late Pasha who had been married to one of her father's slaves, on the express condition that he should take unto himself only one wife,) and pay and rations began to be strictly distributed. A *mirlai* or colonel—a very polished sort of gentleman, whose manner was all suavity, and who wore straw-coloured kid gloves, came over from Omer Pacha's camp, evidently with special instructions, and threw the cunning, vulgar old Pacha of Widdin quite into the shade. Subsequently, two colonels came direct from Constantinople to convey the refugees to Schoumla, and nothing could exceed the courtesy and kindness of their behaviour or the munificence of the orders, which on the part of the Sultan, they came to carry out.

As the demand of extradition had given the Christian populations of Turkey the most exalted idea of the irresistible power of the Tsar, it was understood that the strongest political reasons existed, that if unable to attain his end through negotiation, he should, rather than suffer defeat in the eyes of the Rayas, attempt by violent means, to secure the persons of the refugees. The position taken up by the Russian troops on the other side of the Danube, led on several occasions to the apprehension that a *coup-de-main* might be essayed. This danger it was determined to meet by the desperate expedient of mounting Kossuth and the principal personages, and endeavouring to cut a passage for them through the enemy's cavalry. Some five-and-twenty English horses, saddles, sabres, and men to use them, and determined horsemen were "looked up" and kept in readiness by Guyon.

Considering the stamp of horses and the selection of the proven men, perhaps five-and-twenty such horse would never before have been got together. Once through the enemy's line, his horse could have had no chance in prsuit in the plain of Widdin, till the shelter of the oak coppice by which the hills are covered had been reached. Kossuth, in fact, at Widdin seemed several times disposed to play the part of the King of Sweden at Bender, and as a last resource, I am convinced, rather than embrace Islamism, would have perished with his companions in the attempt to cut his way through Turkey, I mention this, because you know Görgey and the military party he attempted to get up, were always persuading Kossuth not to interfere in military matters, and then crying him down for not appearing in the field. I can bear my testimony to the fact, that at

Widdin, when everybody firmly believed that the refugees would be given up, the conduct of the Ex-President-Governor was heroic.

It is worth while to remember too, that the series of victories by which Görgey beat back Windischgrätz from the Theiss to the Danube, were all gained whilst the army was inspired by Kossuth's presence.

It was, in one sense, at Widdin, a fault that Kossuth would not show himself in the camp. The private Hungarian soldiers suffering from cold, decimated by sickness, determined, by the example of their leaders, not to proselytize, and without even one cheering hope held out to them, said openly, "either lead us back to Hungary, if only armed with sticks, or let us die in our own country sooner than perish here."

This feeling coming to the knowledge of the Austrians, they sent General Hauslab to Widdin to entice them back to Hungary, by the promise of an amnesty. Kossuth refused to interfere, or give the soldiers any hopes he did not entertain; whilst, at the same time, it was argued that as Austria could not put the privates to death, the best thing these men could do was perhaps after all to return. Nearly two thousand soldiers, in this manner, went back to Hungary; but Guyon did not take matters so quietly. Hearing that the Austrian General had indulged in personalities, he went in search of him, armed with his horsewhip. The Austrian General and his officers beat a very undignified retreat, and took refuge on board the steamer, from which they threatened vengeance, but did not venture to disembark in the face of the irate Englishman, who walked to and fro, to the great delight of the Turks, with a horsewhip in his hand. Guyon then went and tore down an abusive proclamation from the door of the Austrian Consul, who shut and barricaded his doors and windows, as if threatened with an assault. This was the alleged "violation of the consular domicile."

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The news of the surrender of Comorn was followed by that of the political executions. I cannot describe to you their effect upon the refugees. Kossuth, and naturally the Batthyányis, were in particular deeply affected by the fate of Count Louis Batthyányi,—made prisoner when he went with a flag of truce,—condemned for participation in the murder of Latour (!) retried and executed, after he had been once acquitted;—his arrest was an act of perfidy; his condemnation a calumny; his execution an assassination. Kossuth seemed rather pained at an ably-written article in the "Daily News," in reference to Batthyányi's fall, but which was, in this particular, inaccurate; that it stated Batthyányi's seizure to have been made when he went with proposals of peace, without the concurrence of Kossuth. Kossuth, as you know, always foresaw that the utter bad

faith of Austria rendered hopeless all negotiation. He knew that the great object of all her machinations was to possess herself of the jealously husbanded resources of Hungary and the direction of her armed force—he did not require to tell your countrymen what they have understood for centuries, that all constitutions and rights are waste-paper, when the control of the public funds passes out of the hands of the representatives of the nation—but he did endeavour to impress on them that nothing less would satisfy the Austrian cabinet. On this particular occasion, though unchanged in his opinion, he deferred to the views entertained by the majority of the Diet, and parted on the best terms with Batthyányi, who went to the Austrian camp whilst Kossuth prepared at Debreczin for the result of which his sagacity forewarned him.

Kossuth is one of the warmest defenders of Batthyányi's memory, from whom he only differed as to means; and he said to me on this occasion, "I know that Batthyányi's detractors endeavoured to circulate that I prompted him and inspired his speeches in the Diet, but nothing can be more untrue—on the contrary, I may say, that to the support and encouragement which I received from Batthyányi's unvarying friendship is in a great measure due my own political career."

In Count Casimir Batthyányi, who has indissolubly united his political fortunes to those of Kossuth, now centre the suffrages not only of that party which looked to his unfortunate cousin as their leader, but even (according to the accounts which reach us) of the greater number of the stiff-necked and narrow-minded fraction of the aristocracy, who could not forgive the sacrifice of their feudal rights, but whom Austria has forever alienated by these executions. Kiss, it was thought, would have been saved, but his fall is thought here to have been decided by the fact that he had lent large sums to influential personages. Radetsky, for instance, owed him £17,000. This is an Austrian way of clearing off a mortgage. I need not tell you that Batthyányi and Kiss were the only decided aristocrats, as Szemere was the only republican mixed up on the Hungarian side in this struggle; the remainder, whatever their tendency of opinion, occupying themselves as little with such questions as with geological theories, and this, I think, you ought to let people know in England. The particulars of these ruthless executions were brought us by ——, who came over in disguise.

These martyred victims of their own credulity, of the perfidy of Russia, and the incurable ill faith of Austria, all appeared to have died heroically. Damianits met his fate like a Spartan, and with a laconism on his lips worthy of the best days of Greek history. Hanged after the others, he said, with a smile, "My friends, I was always first in the fire, why here the last?" The platoon, the

gallows and the chain—the executioner's lash applied equally to women as to men—the spoliation—from whole princely fortunes down to the jewelry off the fingers of the wives of the murdered generals—have been the requital of the chivalrous generosity and forbearance of your countrymen.

The fate which overtook many of the victims, was, to some extent, due to their tendency to believe in a false prophet—for Hungary had in Görgey and in Kossuth her false prophet and her true. The result of these butcheries has been to show both in their proper colours, and to convince all classes of that profound sagacity in their elected governor, which the masses had instinctively divined. You have asked me for my impressions of Kossuth, and want of space now precludes my complying with your desire, beyond what the limits of a few lines will permit me to convey. I derive these impressions naturally as much from what I have heard and seen of his influence on others as directly on myself. I believe Kossuth, then, to have as profound a knowledge of human nature as his favourite writer, Shakespeare, of whose bust his features, in some degree, remind you. To complete his physical portraiture, I should, in fact, only add to this description the chin and mouth of Byron, the eye and complexion of Napoleon Bonaparte, as painted by de la Roche, and beg the reader to suppose the effects of a few years' imprisonment—of his long parliamentary campaign—and of the period of his ministry and presidency. This knowledge of human nature, together with his power of adapting himself to the capacity of those he addresses, is the source of his eloquence—and if the test of eloquence be to move and to persuade, he is assuredly the most eloquent of all men living. The masses admiringly term his style, in addressing them, Biblical, and perhaps do not inaptly characterize it. His enemies reproach him justly with being a poet,—and assuredly his writings and his speeches are filled with poetry of the highest order, —but they fall into the most grievous error when thereby intending to imply that he is nothing but a poet. The distinctive peculiarity in which he differs from all other popular leaders I can remember, who have been gifted with that poetical genius which is so important a constituent of eloquence, is the rare combination, with this talent of an equal aptitude for figures, facts and administrative detail. There are two men in him. The Kossuth eloquent with tongue and pen in half the languages of Europe, who can raise the whirlwind of passion in the masses, and lead the people as Moses did the Israelites; and the logically argumentative Kossuth of deliberative assemblies, the administrator and financier, who writes a secretary's clear round hand, and enters willingly into the most laborious detail. Add to this, the most fervent patriotism, and an integrity and disinterestedness which has never been assailed except by notorious

hirelings of Austria, or on the authority of writers whom I could show to be either Austrian *employés*—men owing their bread to Austrian patronage, or ignorant of every language spoken in the country they pretended to describe. You will say from all this, that I who repudiate so energetically the idolatry of hero-worship have fallen into it. It is not so. I am perfectly awake to Kossuth's faults, which are serious and many. He is too soft-hearted. He could never sign a death-warrant; he was hardly ever known to punish. I believe, that if Kossuth had a servant who could not clean his boots, he would never think of superseding him, but clean the boots himself. On this principle he wastes his time and energies, in details in which he should have no concern, and wears out, if not his untiring mind, a body which would be otherwise robust. These weaknesses, which might be amiable in an individual, are fatal in one who is literally a nation's representative. But I believe, that he has judgment enough to see, and will have sufficient determination to correct these faults. In conclusion, I can only say, that after the calamitous issue of the struggle which he directed, the people call him *father* Kossuth—wear shreds of his portrait on their bosoms—invest their hoarded savings in his notes, which I have seen purchased at 20 per cent., though their possession is felony, and that if he could present himself upon the frontier with four hundred thousand muskets, a few presses and some bales of paper, four hundred thousand soldiers would rise up, and he would find his paper money received as eagerly as before. The lands on which that paper is secured the Magyars say that the Austrians cannot carry away, and cannot sell for want of purchasers. They will not believe in the permanent suppression of a constitution and a Diet which dates eight centuries and a half, and Kossuth is, in their eyes, the impersonation of that Diet. The peasantry affectionately remember Kossuth as her emancipator, and the proprietors gratefully recal that to the measures into which his eloquence persuaded them is due that hearty reconciliation between all classes, which has made the Magyar nation the only one on the continent of Europe, in which, amid its misfortunes, all heart-burnings between caste and class are set at rest.

VIII.

SENTENCE BY THE AUSTRIAN COURT-MARTIAL ON COUNT LOUIS BATTHYANYI.

Count Louis Batthyanyi, native of Pozsony, forty years old, a Catholic, and married man, has been convicted, partly by his own

confession, partly by evidence, of having in his previous quality of Prime Minister of Hungary, taken, carried, and allowed to be carried, determinations, which by far transgressed the laws granted in March,[1] relative to the administrative concerns of Hungary;—of having thus loosened the union between Hungary and the Imperial Royal Hereditary States, which was lawfully guaranteed by the Pragmatic Sanction,—and of having thereby called up the most terrible dangers to the stability of the government of the State. He was further convicted of having strengthened and supported the party of the Revolution, by having after his resignation of his office as Prime Minister on the third of October, of last year, entered the ranks of the rebels; by having publicly summoned to armed defence and by having been re-elected and having participated in the Diet which had been dissolved by his Majesty.

Count Batthyanyi was condemned for high-treason—with confiscation of his whole property for the indemnification of the Treasury of the State, to die by the rope; and this sentence has been executed—after due ratification, to-day.

PEST, 6TH OF OCTOBER, 1849.

FROM THE IMPERIAL ROYAL COURT-MARTIAL.

IX.

THE PRAGMATIC SANCTION.

THE Austrians often refer to the "*Pragmatic Sanction*," and want to evince by it the unity of the different parts of the Monarchy, by which the independence of Hungary is said to have been abolished. They always quote the 2d Article, 1723.

To the impartial judgment of every one, we here submit, uncurtailed, the whole original document of this law, with its introduction (*Article I.*) and its conclusion (*Article III.*), which the Austrians used to omit. We add to it the explanations of this law, such as it was confirmed in the year 1790, under Leopold II.

[1] No laws were granted in March to Hungary: they were granted in April. The Court-martial certainly took little trouble to ascertain *facts*.

CAROLI VI., IMPERATORIS ET REGIS HUNGARIÆ III.

DECRETUM II., ANNI 1723.

ARTICULUS I.

Status et Ordines Regni, Partiumque eidem annexarum, Sacræ Cæsareæ, et Regiæ Majestati, pro Libertatum et Prærogativarum Eorundem Paterna et Clementissima Confirmatione; et Suæ in medium Statuum Sacratissimæ Personæ adventu; gratias quam maximas referunt.

Paternam sane, et Clementissimam Sacratissimæ Cæsareæ, et Regiæ Majestatis erga Status et Ordines Regni in præsenti Diæta, felicissime, et in frequentissimo, vix aliquando viso numero congregatos propensionem; et ad permansionem Eorundem, ac incrementum publici Status Regni Hungariæ, Partiumque eidem annexarum, proque stabilienda in omnem casum, etiam contra Vim externam, cum vicinis Regnis, et Provinciis Hæreditariis Unione, et conservanda domestica tranquillitate directam curam et sollicitudinem, ex benignis Ejusdem Sacratissimæ Cæsareæ et Regiæ Majestatis, ad Status et Ordines Regni, Partiumque eidem annexarum Clementissime emanatis Literis Regalibus ac novissime factis Propositionibus; devoto sane homagialis Fidelitatis Eorundem zelo, et constanti fervore humillime intelligentes; pro hoc erga Eosdem Clementissime exhibito Paterni affectus Gratiarum singulari voto, quodve non obstantibus in adversum quibusvis gravissimis, Sacrum Romanum Imperium, et Europæam quietem tangentibus curis et laboribus, in medium fidelium Suorum Statuum semet conferre; et Eosdem in Altissima, iisdem summe Veneranda Persona sua, paterne consolari; et primum ac ante omnia, nullaque prævia fidelium Statuum et Ordinum eatenus præmissa humillima Supplicatione, ex puro erga Eosdem paterno affectu, universos Status et Ordines Regni sui Hæreditarii Hungariæ, Partiumque, Regnorum, et Provinciarum eidem annexarum, *in omnibus tam Diplomaticis, quam aliis quibusvis Juribus, Libertatibus, Privilegiis, Immunitatibus, Consvetudinibus, Prærogativis, et Legibus*, hactenus concessis, et conditis, ac in præsenti Diæta, et in futurum etiam Diætaliter condendis, conservaturam offerre; et eosdem, ac earundem singulas, clementissime confirmare dignata fuisset; humillimas, et quam possunt, maximas Sacratissimæ Cæsareæ ac Regiæ Majestati ideo etiam gratias referunt;

§ 1. Quod Fœmineum quoquè Sexum Augustissimæ Domus Suæ Austriacæ usque ad Ejusdem, et ab Eodem Descendentium defectum, ad Regiam Hungariæ Coronam, Partesque, Regna, et Provincias, ad eandem Sacrum Coronam pertinentes, unanimi Universorum Statuum

et Ordinum Regni, Partiumque eidem annexarum libero voto proclamatum; et per solennem Eorundem Statuum et Ordinum ad Sacratissimam Cæsaream et Regiam Majestatem, Viennam expeditam Deputationem vocatum;

§ 2. Et ejusmodi oblationem, tam pie, et clementer gratoque animo acceptare; et fidelium Statuum et Ordinum suorum piis, ac salutaribus Votis, non tantum annuere dignata asset;

§ 3. Sed ejusmodi in Sacra Regni Hungariæ Corona, et Partibus, Regnis, et Provinciis eidem annexis Successionem, eodem quo Masculorum Primogenituræ Ordine, secundum normam in reliquis Suæ Majestatis Sacratissimæ Regnis, et Provinciis Hæreditariis, in, et extra Germaniam sitis, jam per Eandem ordinatam, stabilitam, publicatam, et acceptatam, inseparabiliter, habitaque in graduum æqualitate ejusdem Lineæ, Prærogativæ Masculorum ratione, dirigi, servari, et custodiri vellet;

§ 4. Ita, ut illa, vel Masculus Ejusdem Hæres, qui, vel quæ, præmissorum Augustæ Domus Austriacæ Regnorum et Provinciarum Hæres, juxta memoratam normam Primogenituræ in Augusta Domo Austriaca receptam, existet; eodem Successionis, pro his et futuris quibuscunque casibus, Hæreditario Jure, etiam pro infallibili Rege Hungariæ, Partiumque, Regnorum, et Provinciarum eidem annexarum, æque *indivisibiliter intelligendarum*, habeatur et coronetur.

ARTICULUS II.

De Regia Hæreditaria Sacratissimæ Cæsareæ et Regiæ Majestatis Sexus Fœminei Augustæ Domus Austriacæ in Sacra Regni Hungariæ Corona, et Partibus eidem ab antiquo annexis, continua Successione.

Tametsi Suæ Sacratissimæ Cæsareæ et Regiæ Magestatis Fideles Status et Ordines Regni Hungariæ, Partiumque eidem annexarum, vividam et florentem, optimeque constitutam Ætatem, Vires, et Valetudinem conspicientes Divinæque Benedictioni quam optime confisi, Eandem Magnis, et gloriosis Sexus Masculini Successoribus, ad præces quoque fidelium suorum Statuum eo fine ad DEUM Ter Optimum fusas, et incessanter fundendas, largissime benedicendam, et indefinenti Masculorum Hæredum suorum ordine fideles Status Regni consolandos fore, vel maxime confiderent;

§ 1. Quia vero apprime etiam perspectum haberent; Reges pariter, et Principes, æquali aliorum hominum mortalitatis sorti subjectos esse; mature proinde, et consulto perpendentes, tot et tanta, cum Prædecessorum Suæ Sacratissima Cæsareæ et Regiæ Majestatis, Divorum olim Leopoldi Genitoris, et Josephi fratris, Gloriosissimorum Hungariæ Regum; tum vel maxime propria Clementissime Regnan-

tis Suæ Sacratissimæ Cæsareæ et Regiæ Majestatis, pro incremento Boni Patrii publici, prove fidelium Civium suorum perenni salute, Bello æque ac Pace, exantlata Gloriosissima Acta, et Facta; dum non modo Hæreditarium Regnum hoc suum Hungariæ, Partesque, Regna, et Provincias eidem annexas, in statu per præattactos glorioſos Prædecessores suos positum, conservavit; sed occasione etiam novissimi Ottomanici Belli, contra ferventissimos ejusdem impetus, idem animose tutata; victricibus, felicibusque Armis, in annexa eidem Regna, et Provincias, cum immortali sui Nominis Gloria, Statuumque et Ordinum, ac privatorum Regni Civium perenni securitate protenderit: ut successivis quibusvis temporibus, ab omnibus externis, et etiam domesticis confusionibus et periculis proservari; imo in alma, et continua tranquillitate, ac sincere animorum unione, *adversus omnem Vim etiam externam* felicissime perennare possit;

§ 2. Quosvis præterea etiam *internos Motus*, et facile solita, ipsis Statibus et Ordinibus Regni ab antiquo optime cognita *Interregni mala*, sollicite præcavere cupientes;

§ 3. Majorum suorum laudabilibus Exemplis incitati;

§ 4. Volentesque erga Sacratissimam Cæsaream, et Regiam Majestatem, Dominum Dominum Eorum Clementissimum, gratos, et fideles semet exhibere;

§ 5. In defectu Sexus Masculini Sacratissimæ Cæsareæ et Regiæ Majestatis (quem defectum DEUS clementissime avertere dignetur,) Ius hæreditarium succedendi in Hungariæ Regnum, et Coronam, ad eandemque Partes pertinentes, Provincias, et Regna, jam Divino auxilio recuperata, et recuperanda; etiam in Sexum Augustæ Suæ Domus Austriacæ Fœmineum, primo loco quidem ab altefata modo Regnante Sacratissima Cæsarea et Regia Majestate;

§ 6. Dein in hujus defectu; a Divo olim Josepho;

§ 7. His quoque deficientibus; ex Lumbis Divi olim Leopoldi, Imperatorum, et Regum Hungariæ Descendentes, Eorundemque legitimos Romano-Catholicos Successores utriusque Sexus Austriæ Archiduces, juxta stabilitum per Sacratissimam Cæsaream et Regiam Regnantem Majestatem in aliis quoque suis Regnis et Provinciis Hæreditariis, in et extra Germaniam sitis, Primogenituræ Ordinem, Jure et Ordine præmisso, *indivisibiliter*, ac *inseparabiliter*, *invicem*, et *insimil*, ac una cum Regno Hungariæ, et Provinciis, Partibus et Regnis eidem annexis, *hæreditarie possidendis*, regendum et gubernandam transferunt;

§ 8. Et memoratum Successionem acceptant;

§ 9. Taliterque eandem *Successionem Fœmineam*, in Augusto Domo Austriaca introductam, et agnitam (extensis ad eam nunc pro tunc Articulis 2 et 3, 1687, et paditer 2 et 3, Anni 1715) juxta ordinem supradictum *stabiliunt*;

§ 10. Per præattactum Fœmineum Sexum Augustæ Domus ejus-

dem, prævio modo declaratos Hæredes, et Successores utriusque Sexus Archiduces Austriæ, *acceptandam ratihabendam*, et una cum præmissis, æque modo prævio per Sacratissimam Cæsaream et Regiam Majestatem clementissime confirmatis *Diplomaticis*, aliisque prædeclaratis Statuum et Ordinum Regni, Partiumque, Regnorum, et Provinciarum eidem annexarum *Libertatibus*, et *Prærogativis*, ad tenorem præcitatorum Articulorum, futuris semper temporibus, occasione Coronationis *observandam determinant;*

§ 11. Et nonnisi post omnimodum prædicti Sexus defectum *avitam et veterem, approbatamque, et receptam Consvetudinem*, Prærogativamque Statuum et Ordinum, *in Electione, et Coronatione Regum*, locum habituram: reservant intelligendam.

Articulus III.

Jura, Prærogativæ, et Libertates Statuum et Ordinum Regni, Partiumque eidem annexarum confirmantur.

Sacratissima Cæsarea et Regia Majestas, universorum fidelium Statuum et Ordinum Regni, Partiumque eidem annexarum, omnia tam *Diplomatica*, quam alia quævis *Jura, Libertates, et Privilegia, Immunitates, Prærogativas, Legesque conditas, et approbatas Consvetudines* (in conformitate Articulorum 1 et 2 modernæ Dietæ, in sensu Articulorum 1, 2 et 3, Anni, 1715. Formulæque Juramenti ibidem contentæ, intelligendorum) clementer *confirmat, et observabit:*

§ 1. Pariterque *Successores*, legitime *coronandi* Hungariæ et Partium eidem annexarum Reges; in iisdem Prærogativis, et præmissis Immunitatibus et Legibus, Status et Ordines Regni Partiumque eidem annexarum *inviolabiliter conservabunt;*

§ 2. Quas et quæ, præterea sua Majestas Sacratissima, per suos *cujuscunque Status* gradus et conditionis subditos, *observari faciet.*

LEOPOLDI II. IMPER. ET REGIS HUNGARIÆ.

Decretum I. Anni 1790—91.

Articulus X.

De Independentia Regni Hungariæ, Partiumque eidem annexarum.

Erga demissam Statuum et Ordinum Regni Propositionem, Sua quoque Majestas Sacratissima benigne agnoscere dignata est, quod licet Successio Sexus fœminei Augustæ Domus Austriacæ per Arti-

culos 1 et 2, 1723, in Regno Hungariæ, Partibusque eidem adnexis stabilita, eundem, quem in reliquis Regnis et Ditionibus hæreditariis, in et extra Germaniam sitis, juxta stabilitum successionis Ordinem inseparabiliter ac indivisibiliter possidendis, Principem concernat, Hungaria nihilominus cum Partibus adnexis, *sit Regnum liberum*, et relate ad totam legalem Regiminis formam (huc intellectis quibusvis Dicasteriis suis) *independens*, id est nulli alteri Regno aut populo obnoxium, sed *propriam habens Consistentiam, et Constitutionem*, proinde a legitime coronato hæreditario Rege suo; adeoque etiam a Sua Majestate Sacratissima, Successoribusque ejus Hungariæ Regibus, *propriis legibus, et Consuetudinibus, non vero ad normam aliarum Provinciarum*, dictantibus id Articulis 3, 1715, item 8 et 11, 1791, *regendum et gubernandum*.

X.

LETTER OF GENERAL KLAPKA TO BARON HAYNAU, CIVIL AND MILITARY GOVERNOR OF HUNGARY.

"YOUR EXCELLENCY,—The complaints, which are daily becoming more loud, of a breach of the capitulation of Komorn, compel me to address this letter to your Excellency; you, as the *alter ergo* of the Emperor, your master, have guaranteed by your word and handwriting the inviolability of that capitulation.

"You, and all other Austrian generals who besieged Komorn, know exactly what was the principal motive which induced the victorious garrison of the fortress to capitulate. The Austrian negotiators were indefatigable in their assurances that the Emperor waited but for the surrender of the fortress to follow the innate instincts of his heart, to show mercy and clemency to our countrymen, and to those among our companions in arms who, relying on the generosity of the conqueror, had made an unconditional surrender.

"In corroboration of these assertions, it was alleged that the Emperor had sent the Count Grunne, his own Adjutant-General, to Arad, to stop the execution of the sentences of death which had been pronounced by the courts-martial sitting in that fortress; and the garrison of Komorn was induced to believe that their capitulation would release their friends, put a term to the state of martial law, and open the gates of the prisons. None of them had any idea that the only reason your Excellency had for urging the capitulation was, the desire to execute the bloody sentences against the doomed patriots unpunished and unavenged.

"I will not enlarge on these events. Public opinion speaks with

a loud voice, and history will decide whether your Excellency has deserved well of the Emperor and the Austrian monarchy by the executions of Arad and Pest.

"But I must raise my voice for those who have trusted your word of honour and your signature, and who have been deceived. The original document of the capitulation of Komorn is in my hands. It is my duty to inform you of every breach of that capitulation, and to insist on a strict observance of those conditions, which have been most disgracefully violated in the following cases:—

"Those among the garrison of Komorn who, after the unconditional amnesty granted to them, still insisted on leaving their country, have not received regular passports, which were due to them, but warrants of exile (*Zwangspässe*), which compelled them to emigrate to America, and which, although they had the visa of the Prussian Embassy, contained an express clause to the effect that they would never be permitted to return. They received these passports eight days after the surrender of the fortress, that is to say, at a time when no reclamations could possibly be made, while those who left the fortress previous to its formal surrender had no difficulty in obtaining passports from the Count Nobili, without any conditions or restrictions whatever.

"Messrs. Csapo, Barosh, Rutkay, and others, were arrested after the capitulation, and Messrs. Bangya and Hamvashy, who had obtained passports over the frontier, are mentioned in a proclamation of the *Pest Gazette* of the 3d of January as being guilty of the crime of high treason, and under the allegation that they are running about and hiding themselves, they are summoned to appear before the court-martial within eighty days from the date of the proclamation. According to the terms of the capitulation, all these gentlemen ought to have a most unlimited amnesty.

"But still more general is the complaint, in which all reports and newspaper paragraphs agree, that, in spite of the provisions of Article I. of the capitulation, according to which every man of the garrison should be unconditionally allowed to proceed to, and remain in, his native place, the Honveds and Hussars have been summoned to come forward for the purpose of being enlisted in the Austrian regiments.

"Your Excellency cannot but remember that this point presented the chief difficulty in the capitulation. The unconditional dismissal of the Honveds was taken for granted by the term 'free withdrawal' (*freier Abzug*); but your excellency insisted on enlisting the regiment of former soldiers of the line and of Hussars. We refused to concede this point, and at length you gave it up. I am aware that it has been attempted to interpret the words 'free withdrawal' into the meaning of temporary furlough; but that nothing of the kind

was either thought of or understood is proved by the fact, that by your direction the Generals, Prince Colloredo, Burich, Barko, and others appealed to the regiment of the late Würtemberg Hussars, asking them, amidst the most enticing promises, to return to the Imperial army. Not one of the men came forward to respond to the summons, to the signal indignation of the said Generals.

"The distinct terms of the capitulation, and the text of the safe conducts, promising 'safety of persons and properties,' admit not even of the possibility of a misinterpretation. Any pettifogging, twisting and turning of the meaning of these words would be incompatible with the straightforwardness of military treaties; and to punish, by a forcible enlistment, the very men to whom a promise of the safety of their persons and properties was given is dishonest, and consequently, disgraceful.

"I cannot believe that such glaring violations of solemn and authorized engagements can have been perpetrated with your knowledge, and much less by your command. I cannot believe that a soldier, no matter what his political opinions may be, could stoop to stigmatize his profession and name by a deliberate breach of a solemn treaty. I cannot but believe that this high treason against military honour is the act of unconscientious parasites, whose minds are proof against the endless moral consequences of their crime.

"I appeal to your Excellency, and taking my stand on your word and signature, I direct you to provide for the inviolate maintenance of the capitulation of the fortress of Komorn. I appeal to you, and direct you to take measures to undo what your underlings have done, to make up for the violation of that capitulation, and to provide for the due delivery of passports to those among the garrison who wish to leave Austria for another country.

"But, if you take no notice of my just demands, you will compel me to resort to those moral weapons which alone are, at present, within my reach, and to protect at least the honour of those among my officers, who were parties to, and who signed the capitulation of Komorn.

"I am,

"Your Excellency's obedient servant,

"General GEORGE KLAPKA.

"20, OXFORD TERRACE,
"LONDON, FEB. 6."

THE END.

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